

# MICHIGAN BIRDS

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Vol. XIV

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Number 1

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# MID-AMERICA

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# MID-AMERICA

## An Historical Review

VOL. XIV  
NEW SERIES, VOL. III

JULY, 1931

NUMBER 1

### THE MEXICO CITY GUILDS OF NEW SPAIN

#### I

At no time since the outlines of our industrial society became fixed after the Napoleonic wars has the organization of labor been so discussed as it is today. At no time has it been so much taken for granted by all but a few that labor must be organized by some force outside of itself. Organization is used here in its general sense of planning for the whole interests of labor and not in a specific sense as when we say a labor union has been organized. In this sense of course labor is expected to organize on occasions, may even incorporate itself as a distinct group, but in no sense is that incorporation or organization taken or expected to be taken as anything which will serve the *whole* interests of labor. There is a partial exception to this in the co-operatives, though with possibly few exceptions even these recognize no more than the economic interest.

The major problem then is recognized, save by the few, notably Pope Pius XI, to be one of deciding whether the organization is to be done by the capital owners or a dictatorship of the proletariat as among the Communists of Russia. Not long ago it was fairly common to view these as alternatives with the balance towards the capital-owners, but the rapidity with which the two seem to be ready to pool their identity is truly shocking. It is not only Lenin and Litvinoff who have had the clarity to state this. We find it suggested in Belloc and Chesterton.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Edmund A. Walsh, *The Last Stand*, Boston, 1931.

Neither of these writers would hold, however, that these two alternatives were the only alternatives or that, should the logical merging of the two be accepted as imminent, other alternatives could not save the situation.

It has been suggested that the interests of labor, if not of economics, could be safeguarded from such a calamity as Russia presents by having the government step in with what is known

popularly as social legislation. If this were enough, there would be no problem, for any complaint could be adjusted by the expedient of more legislation. The steps already taken in this regard both in Russia and in Mexico have given Europe and the United States matter for thought. Solution of the problem does not seem to lie in this direction.

The reason for this is not immediately apparent to most because of the eclipse of the medieval, and Catholic, theory of social organization and the rise of the economic interest as the controlling factor in society. Labor indeed has been placed beyond the pale as the *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII recognizes. Further, with the dominance of the economic interest, economic institutions in the capitalistic industrial societies are also beyond the pale, i. e. beyond the regulatory guidance of governments, subject only to the norms of their own selfishness.

The problem is not one of labor, not one of economic institutions alone, but of the organization, or better yet of the integration of the social<sup>2</sup> interests of labor in the economic institution itself and not as side interests in accompanying legislation.<sup>3</sup> To do this requires a comprehension of the principles of sociology, at least those derived from the medieval theory of social organization. It is surprising to many how a study of these throws a great light on the problem of the organization of labor.

## II

In 1920, the *Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo*, taking advantage of the researches of Don Luis Gonzales Obregón, authorized the publication of selections from the compen-

<sup>2</sup> Social as connoting the relationships which arise among men as a consequence of the complex nature of man, spiritual, intellectual and physical.

<sup>3</sup> How little understood is this idea may be seen from the editorial comment in *The New Republic* for May 27, 1931, on the Encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (pp. 32-3), published before the full text was issued. The writer, while subscribing to the moral strength of the Pope's premises, complains that his encyclical is a mere plea for "those who now control our present economy to be good." His Holiness "ought to have devoted more attention to the question how the radical implications of the Church doctrine are to be effectuated."

This is a common criticism. However, unless the Pope so chose, there was no essential reason why he should have outlined the organization of any or all economic institutions from banking to the production of oil. His point was served when he called attention to the fact that in organizing the secular details of the institutions, no plan must be adopted which would interfere with the proper development of man, both from the point of view of social justice and the common good, and from the point of view of individual rights and the great final destiny of man. The secular details of the technique of the institution is properly left to the individuals concerned.

dium of the *Ordenanzas de Gremios de la Nueva España* made by Don Francisco del Barrio Lorenzot. An alumnus of the Colegio de San Ildefonso, he served as legal advisor to the Audiencia and as auditor for the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City, and so was fitted to make an intelligent selection from the mass of data at his disposal. Though the selections now printed are limited (a bibliography of other collections is listed), they are very worthy of study and it is to be regretted that this book has not received the wide publicity which the new labor code of Mexico has received in the United States. Many more extensive compilations of the statutes of the Mexican Guilds have been made but unfortunately these exist only in rare editions or in manuscript. Historians have too often preferred to write the social history of Spanish America from the peculiar source of Comte's or Herbert Spencer's social ideology and so have missed the information contained in these compilations, while the obsession that neither Spaniard nor Spanish-Americans ever had any notion of self-government has so far prevented any historian of the United States from publishing a study of the great collections of the *Actas* of the colonial *cabildos*. No good could come out of the *cabildo*, certainly not in New Spain, has been a motto. Times are changing. The records of the Inquisition in Spanish America, particularly in Mexico, are now being consulted by the United States historians, not for details of tortures, but for the evidence of the social life of the times. It is not undue optimism to expect that young United States scholars may soon devote their attention to the source material so abundantly to be found, and particularly on labor, in the *Actas* of the *cabildo*.

For this edition of Lorenzot, Señor Genaro Estrada, now Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs, has written a stimulating introduction in which he calls attention to what strikes him and undoubtedly will strike any reader of these documents as outstanding characteristics. The statutes for the guilds were invariably issued by the *Cabildo* of Mexico City, though often confirmed by the Viceroy. Labor, technical and administrative points, quality of goods, purity of the merchandise, buying and selling, were all considered, detail by detail. The workers (*artesanos* not *obreros*) were organized into two groups, confraternities, in order to supernaturalize their work, and guilds, in order to systematize it more justly and effectively.

In these institutions of the guild, the confraternity and the *cabildo* and their interrelations, we have a characteristic of Spanish Catholic thought. Its principles are: spiritual realities, democratic and representative management, protection for the worker since man must live by labor, quality of the goods since man is so planned as to derive a peculiar and essential satisfaction from expressing his individual idea in his work, and the sacramentalizing of the supreme function of the government as channel and guardian of that Divine Justice which rules the universe.

The only way to secure these aims as the Spanish saw them was to look upon the institutions necessary to carry them out as corporate activities. Corporation and corporate, of course, are expressions of the social interests of man, but as the Christian medievalists worked them out, they expressed more than mere group activity.<sup>4</sup> Everything was viewed in this corporate sense—city, workers, teachers, officials—and each was organized to have a self-contained life of its own with the management clearly arranged for and always democratic.

The *ciudad*, *villa* or *lugar*<sup>5</sup> as political corporations were organized first, but the *ciudad* was the characteristic unit among the Hispano-Romans and equally so among the Hispano-Americans. The administration (*regimiento*) of this followed the custom of Castile as practised before the introduction of cor-

<sup>4</sup> There is an essential difference between group activity and corporate activity. Group activity is a normal mode of procedure; one may come upon it anywhere, and it is dearly liked by most people. It is not often found, however, in our society of mechanized work and mechanized amusements. But it haunts those deprived of it. And this is one reason why of late we find such admiration of it when found among the Indians of our southwest and of Mexico. It is more often called "the socio-political inheritance of communistic living," "flock-mindedness," and heaven knows what (cf. "Mexicans and New Mexico," by Mary Austin in *The Survey Graphic* for May 1, 1931, and the books of Maurice Hindus on the Russian peasant). It is opposed by what Miss Austin calls the "individual expression of economic conquest."

But what these and similar writers fail to see is that this trait of group activity in man is not some "expression of communistic living," but merely an expression of his social nature. Its proper recognition and the necessity of its proper functioning were grasped by the Catholic organizers of society, and the corporations of the Middle Ages were nothing but an attempt to express and guide this instinct. This is one of the great lessons of a study of the guilds for our age; but we, hypnotized by the excessive individualism of capitalistic society, fail to see it.

<sup>5</sup> These terms are usually translated city, town, district, but as descendants of Roman institutions are not to be identified with the corresponding English entities, especially the city.

*regidores*<sup>6</sup> with the modifications introduced for the colonies.<sup>7</sup> The *ciudades* were thought of as *republicas*, self-governing, decentralized, somewhat in the manner of our States. This is the sense in which the term is used in the Spanish codes. Furthermore, the *republica* was considered to be composed of two arms, the ecclesiastical and spiritual, and the political.<sup>8</sup> These two arms not only composed the *republica* as a principle, but also supported it, and their respective institutions were the two main institutions.<sup>9</sup> Hence the close association of Church and State and the intimate color of the spiritual with which every secular institution was invested. When the *ciudad* was founded and a sufficient number of inhabitants there settled, the administrative agencies were set up.<sup>10</sup> Chief of these there was the *cabildo*<sup>11</sup> of which there is no exact equivalent in the United States city government, though municipal council or magistracy is often used as a translation.

Lorenzot gives a transcription of the *Ordenanzas* drawn up for the administration of Mexico City<sup>12</sup> in which the principles outlined above have interesting applications. The inhabitants through their representatives drew up their own statutes and though the King, as representative and administrator of the great interest of Justice for all,<sup>13</sup> had to pass upon them, their right of managing their own affairs was unquestioned. To guard against any encroachment on this the city had a *procurador* or agent at court to look after its interests.<sup>14</sup>

In Mexico City the *procurador general*, an official of great dignity and responsibility elected by the *cabildo*, represented the city in its corporate aspect, attending all public ceremonies and celebrations of holydays. He had assistant *diputados de fiestas* to attend to the details of these. It is interesting to note

<sup>6</sup> Sólorzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana*, reprint of 1930, IV, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> The Spanish is *secular*, but it is to be noted that this meant the civil power, and not a lay power, as the word connotes today.

<sup>9</sup> *Política Indiana*, IV, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*, 3rd. ed., 1774, Lib. IV, tit. vii, *leyes* 1, 2, 14, 19.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the jurists Juan de Hevia and Juan Matienzo, authorities on the laws for the Indies, quoted by Sólorzano, *ibid.*, p. 8, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> By the city, December 11, 1682, approved by the Viceroy, 1683, and the King, 1687, and amended by the city in 1720; approved by the Viceroy, 1723, and the King, 1728. Pp. 182 *et seq.*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Las Sietas Partidas* on the functions of the King.

<sup>14</sup> *Recopilación*, Lib. IV, tit. xi, ley 1, in accordance with the *cédulas* of Toledo, 1519 and 1523; ley 2, modification introduced by Philip IV, November 22, 1623, *leyes* 3 and 4.

that the particular feast days on which the corporation of the city was expected to participate were those of Our Lady of Help (one of the special patrons of the city), Corpus Christi, to Whom there was great devotion, San Nicolás, San Felipe de Jesús the Martyr, San Francisco Xavier and Santa Teresa. A special duty of the *procurador general* was to look after the welfare of the poor, particularly of the prisoners, to see if they had sufficient of what they needed including medical and surgical attention. He had various *diputados de pobre* to assist. The *procurador general* also supervised the elections of the guilds, arresting any disturbers. He went over the books of the accounting department and looked after the income from the public lands.<sup>15</sup>

The functions of the *Diputado de Policía*, which held regular committee meetings every Wednesday, directed such modern things as keeping the streets clean, removal of obstructions unless when allowed during building operations, new pavements, proper fencing of the various properties along the street, and the removal of dead animals. If this were neglected, by the way, the householder nearest to whose property the corpse of the animal was found had to pay a fine.

Public granaries were maintained for the benefit of all and chiefly of the poor and small farmers. A *Fiel*, who served annually and had to give bond, was in charge with a salary of three hundred pesos. He set the daily price for wheat, corn and farina, which price had to remain unchanged for the day. These grains were to be brought directly to the warehouses by the muleteers, who had to declare the ownership and agree to sell their amounts within twenty days. The deputies were to hear all disputes arising and appeal was to the *cabildo*.<sup>16</sup> The Statutes for the *Alhondiga de cacao* drawn up in 1636,<sup>17</sup> then an important item in the city economy, forbade a profit as against the general welfare.

The objective for these particular functions of the *ciudad* was to safeguard the general welfare by safeguarding the poor,

<sup>15</sup> The *ciudad* or *concejo* usually had *proprios* or public lands, the income of which went towards the support of the municipality. Cf. *Recopilación*, Lib. IV, tit. vii, ley 14.

<sup>16</sup> Special statutes for these warehouses or *alhondigas* were drawn up as early as 1580 (*Ordenanzas de Gremios de la Nueva España*, p. 209 et seq.) and for the weighing of the wheat in 1553 (*ibid.*).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

especially in the matter of the food supply and health.<sup>18</sup> This point of view, so truly social, arose not so much from considerations of sanitation or material well-being, as from the fact that as a corporate entity the whole community could not be indifferent to the condition of the poor or to the condition of the environment as a whole, as it affected the whole. When it is grasped that the *cabildo* integrated these activities, it will be seen how different was this old Spanish concept of the corporate nature of the *ciudad* from our United States view of the relations of the municipal council to the various city departments. The modern method may be more imposing from the technical details of administration as it handles larger groups; but it has no such grasp of social cohesion. As for the poor, it may be mentioned here that of course much was done for them through the confraternities, as these were considered better adapted to the proper practice of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy than the *cabildo*, again a note quite absent from our modern Departments of Charity.<sup>19</sup>

### III

The spiritual interests of the guilds, as we indicated above, were taken care of by the confraternities. In this collection of *Ordenanzas* we have a sample of one, though not very complete, that of *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*. The officials in charge, a *regidor*, *mayordomo*, *secretario*, were elected, and a chaplain was attached who was required to have the faculties to preach and hear confessions; moreover, he had to know Mexican. He was given a salary of one hundred and fifty pesos, fifty of which came from the income from the *proprios* and the rest from the confraternity. He was obliged to offer up two special Masses weekly, one for the souls of the conquerors on Mondays, for whose protection at a critical moment in the Conquest, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* was honored, and on Saturdays in honor of Our Lady under this title. A sacristan priest was also re-

<sup>18</sup> Other important ordinances may be found in the *Ordenanzas*. For example, no inspector of weights and measures or *alguacil* was to have directly or indirectly a tavern (1577); dangerous dogs were to be chained on the property of the owners (1581); the selling of sweets in the streets, then as now a marked activity, was regulated as early as 1533; drains were to be kept clean and no refuse allowed to collect in the streets except at the stated places (1589).

<sup>19</sup> The care of the poor in hospitals and other institutions also had its organizations, extremely interesting but omitted here from discussion. The digest of Lorenzot gives no examples of them.

tained by the confraternity at a salary of one hundred pesos. On holydays the *mayordomo* collected alms for the support of the charities of the confraternity. A fixed scale of alms for indulgences was suggested, three pesos for married people, two for bachelors, one for young boys; the poor sons and descendants of the conquerors (many of whom were then in straightened circumstances) were exempt. The four great feasts of Our Lady, her Nativity, Purification, Annunciation and Assumption, were held in particular devotion with splendid ceremonies. The confraternity maintained a home with twelve beds for the poor where they should be fed and cared for as necessary. The *cabildo* had the right to amend the statutes.

The fact that the public and social values of the confraternity were recognized by the financial support it secured from the public treasury and the supervision it received on the part of the *cabildo* reveals a point of view truly Catholic. Not only was "welfare work" performed, but by offering a regularly instituted channel for spiritual needs and activities, manifestation was made of the public and corporate idea in the worship and respect paid publicly to God on the great feast days. The beauty and indeed the necessity of this idea is unfortunately difficult to grasp today by Catholics who live in the prevailing non-Catholic atmosphere of most countries and who find for the most part their Sunday public ceremonies rarely corporate and their Holydays entirely private with a hasty attendance at early Mass (hasty because of the exigencies of getting to work on time). All the guilds were required to be represented officially in the public celebrations of holydays<sup>20</sup> and the various customs with which both the guilds and the confraternities took part in the ceremonies provided much opportunity for ingenuity and recreation as they prepared for them. This is not without its point, too, for those who worry over the leisure-time activities of the proposed four or five-day week.

#### IV

A glance at the guild statutes for the various industries and guilds represented in the *Ordenanzas* suggest several observations. The degree of economic development arrived at by 1600 included such activities as those of rope-makers (statutes, 1550), makers of harness and saddle trappings (1572), tanners (1571),

<sup>20</sup> *Ordenanzas de Gremios*, pp. 264-5.

gilders (1570), painters and decorators (1557), makers of caps and bonnets (1575), silk merchants (1556), silk weavers (1570 and 1573), dyers of silk (1594), dyers of cloth (1584), weavers of cloth of gold (1596), lace and edging makers (1589), carpenters, carvers and joiners (1578), coopers (1592), hatmakers (1571), swordmakers (1556), embroiderers (1546), forge workers (1578), wax and candle makers (1574), masons (1579), and so on. The numbers of skilled artisans these imply is impressive witness to the character of the immigration from Spain. Mulattoes, mestizos of negro blood, and many Indians were excluded (chiefly from those industries where competition of Indians would interfere with Spanish immigration). It was of the greatest importance to encourage the proper kind of immigration from Spain since the Indian culture needed a great addition of the European. In fact, the level of the Indian culture would have been raised by infinitesimal degrees only if indeed at all, had not the culture of New Spain been made dominantly and decisively Spanish. This could not have been done unless Spaniards were there in sufficient numbers. How to get this was the problem. The level of civilization would never be raised by gentlemen living in idleness on the labor of Indians in the fields and the mines, as every one knew. This picture lives only in the minds of the myth-ridden Hispanophobists. Spanish artisans were needed and the authorities realized that with the Indians so skillful at imitation, if they were allowed to compete in the open market with the Spaniards, these would simply be eliminated. There would be no work or opportunity for them. Hence Spanish labor had to be protected at first. That this was done with no essential injustice to the Indians who could learn European ways (for many were savages), is clear if the whole question of Indian labor be considered. Certain industries such as decorative and design painting, carving and embroidery were open to Indians.

As time passed on the industries were better organized and the increased dignity of the guilds may be seen in the amended statutes of a later century, for example, the coach-makers, 1706,<sup>21</sup> needle-makers, 1616,<sup>22</sup> wax and candle-makers, 1710,<sup>23</sup> goldsmiths, and the organizations for the grocery storekeepers, 1757.<sup>24</sup> A characteristic of the guild organization is that uni-

<sup>21</sup> *Ordenanzas*, p. 89 *et seq.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185 *et seq.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157, where new methods are taken into consideration, p. 161.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.

formly there appear regulations for the election of officers in democratic form by the masters. These officials were to meet and elect the *veedor de sciencia*, or *veedores* if necessary, who were conscientiously to examine the candidates for the guilds, inspect the shops and works, and report violations to the *Justicia* or *Fiel Executoria*, or the proper authority. These *veedores* were to present themselves before the *cabildo* for certification and to take oath. If the guild should fail to elect them, the *cabildo* nominated them. No one could have a shop or an industry without being properly examined and licensed. For this the *veedor* had to know the technique of the trade or industry so as to evaluate properly the qualifications of the candidates. The technical knowledge required from the candidates was sufficient to ensure honest workmanship and honest quality. For example the members of the gilders for the harness and equipment for the horses and mules, then elaborately made and chased, had to present specimens of their skill.<sup>25</sup> The painters and image makers had to attest their skill in design, mixing colors, prove that they knew how to describe the work as well as do it, and be skilled in the various branches of their art and the necessary symbolism in work for religious purposes.<sup>26</sup> Likewise the carvers and sculptors must be examined in the knowledge of the five orders of architecture and all the technique of the art.<sup>27</sup> It is of interest to note that no Indian could sell his own creations in the way of busts or figures of saints,<sup>28</sup> as the Indians sometimes were particularly unskilled in this branch of art and it was feared that their crude efforts would more often arouse laughter than reverence and devotion. They could do the background and design, but not the human figure.

Another object of the guild statutes was to secure quality in the materials of the articles. Adulteration was strictly forbidden, and the materials had to be properly prepared.<sup>29</sup> In regard to the weaving of yarns, silk, cotton or linen, or serge, the numbers of thread for the particular quality was specified,<sup>30</sup> some-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 88-9.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, regulations for the preparation of hemp and the maguey fibres for the ropemakers; p. 10 for tanning leather properly; sheepskin was not to be used to counterfeit cordovan leather, pp. 11-2; no adulteration of gold or silver, p. 21; silk was to be labelled, silk or half silk, p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 64-70.

times following the practice in Spain. Severe penalties were attached to the violation of guild regulations, usually fines for the first offense, doubled for the second, and exile for one or several years for the third.

As time went on two evils appeared against which strict regulations were issued, forestalling and combinations in restraint of trade or competition as they would be called today. Reselling was forbidden to the tanners<sup>31</sup> and verticle and horizontal trusts were nipped in the bud. No shoemakers could have a tanyard or form a company with a tanner.<sup>32</sup> No one was to buy up the flocks in order to control the price of skins.<sup>33</sup> If the flock were bought, the buyer must first manifest to the *veedor* the quality and price. The *veedores* had the right to divide the skins among the officials of the guilds for distribution and by a further ordinance of 1607 the buyer must manifest his intention to the *Justicia*, so as to allow to the ones interested the opportunity of buying. All skins were to be properly marked and stamped officially. All masters of the forge-workers guild were to mark their own work.<sup>34</sup> In the needle-workers guild, no master was to have connection with foreign capital or companies.<sup>35</sup>

Regulations for apprentices are not stated in any detail but the time for apprenticeship varied from one to four years, varying with the difficulties of the trade or art to be learned. The masters in many cases had to agree to instruct apprentices.<sup>36</sup>

Some interesting customs are revealed in the statutes for the grocery storekeepers.<sup>37</sup> There was to be only one store for the four corners of a street. No second shop was to be set up within a reasonable distance. The prospective storekeeper had to put up security of five hundred pesos. All shop-keepers had to have lights at their shop doors, of sufficient height and strength to light the corner, bright until the evening Angelus, dull until ten p. m., when the store was to be closed. Special lights had to be maintained in case of some extraordinary happening such as a fire. Furthermore no shop-keeper, on pain of one hundred lashes, was to stand in the doorway or on the corners, waylaying and urging prospective customers. No shop-keeper could

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10. Statute for the tanners.

<sup>33</sup> Statutes of 1591.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>36</sup> E. g. the needlemakers guild of 1616, p. 140.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167, dated 1757.

charge more than two silver reales in the peso for a loan. Credit and financial arrangements were strictly regulated. Debts running for a year were to be sold by authority of the *Justicia*.<sup>28</sup>

An interesting detail of the tavern statutes, which may be recommended to the prohibition reformers, is that only one kind of wine was to be sold in each tavern and there must be a sign on the door stating the kind and quality.<sup>29</sup>

And so on, *ad infinitum*. Much more might be said of the colonial Mexican guilds, but enough has been detailed to arouse interest in this most fruitful and interesting source of research. There is no doubt but that the social philosophy of the guilds is in line with Christian precepts, and if many of the provisions seem odd to us, it should be remembered that no statute was formed without due consideration of the time, the place and the circumstances and in response to a need.

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<sup>28</sup> Other regulations for shop-keepers may be found on pp. 186-7.  
<sup>29</sup> Statutes of 1571.

## PIERRE MENARD OF ILLINOIS

The times in which lived Pierre Menard, pioneer, Indian agent, legislator, judge, officer of militia, first lieutenant-governor of the state of Illinois, and the first Catholic to hold public office in it, were so different from our own that it will be helpful, in tracing his career, to have as a sort of mental background the changing picture of the events and scenes amid which he lived his active and useful life. His figure, whenever it emerges, will thus be viewed in its proper setting, while the narrative will make clear the character and the purport of his actions.

At St. Antoine, a little village located on the north bank of the Richelieu, a river emptying into the St. Lawrence, and distant thirty-five miles from Montreal, the father, Jean Baptiste Menard, called Brindamour, a soldier of the regiment of Guienne, was married at the age of twenty-eight to Marie Françoise Cirée, age twenty-two. The date of this marriage was February 14, 1763, as given on the parish record, a copy of which is among the Pierre Menard Papers preserved in the library of the Chicago Historical Society. This and other documents to be quoted in the present paper are printed in volume four of the Society's Collection, edited by Edward G. Mason, Chicago, 1890. Five sons were born of this marriage, of whom Pierre was the second. The parish record of his baptism, signed "Gervaise, P'tre," reads (original in French): "The year seventeen hundred and sixty-six, the eighth of October, by us, the Priest undersigned, curé of this parish, has been baptised Pierre, born yesterday evening." Court records of Randolph County, Illinois, years later give his full name as Antoine Pierre Menard.

A picture of a French village like that in which Pierre spent his childhood has been sketched in a recent work based upon journals of contemporary travelers and other documents.<sup>1</sup>

"Before the end of the French domination [in 1763] each village had its church of stone or of wood, surmounted by a cross, and often upon it might be seen appurtenances recalling the instruments of Our Lord's passion. At intervals along the road stood wayside crosses with the image of the Virgin set behind panels of glass and at the top a figure of a cock that crowed when Peter denied his Lord." Blessed candles were kept

<sup>1</sup> Herbert Ingram Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, New York, 1929, p. 242-258. The author is professor of Mexican history at the University of California and librarian of the Bancroft Library.

in the houses of the habitants and could not be taken for domestic use without sacrilege. The parish priests "possessed ample quality for wilderness services. On snowshoes or in canoes the curé traveled long miles to give extreme unction, baptise a new child, or marry a pair of his impatient wards." To each newly married couple the Government gave "an ox, a cow, a sow, a cock, a hen, two barrels of salt meat, and eleven crowns." Families were large, six to ten children being not uncommon; but the infant mortality, due to improper feeding, was heavy. Conversion of the Indians was a vital concern of the State as well as of the Church. Recollects, Jesuits and Sulpicians vied with one another in missionary work and set the moral tone of the colonists. The Seminary at Quebec trained the secular priests and "to its kindly shelter they retired in sickness and old age. There they passed annual retreats and from the field reported regularly to it for advice from their head." "When one entered the home of a Canadian farmer, the latter rose, doffing his hat, offered the visitor a seat, and then replaced his hat as he sat down again. . . . The peasants wore shoes hollowed from wood. Boys and girls wore their hair in cues behind, generally with woolen toques, red near Quebec and blue about Montreal. Some of the gentlemen wore wigs." As Pierre's parents, after living for a time across the river from St. Antoine, moved to Montreal, doubtless Pierre wore a blue toque as a boy! "In winter oiled mocassins, laced nearly to the knees, were universally worn, two or more pairs of woolen socks inside completing the foot dress. In summer women and children ran barefoot, but the men usually preferred to wear cowhide clogs. 'Best clothes' came out on Sundays and feasts; then the men surmounted their dignity with tall beaver hats, and the women in bodices and petticoats decked themselves with ribbons and laces from France. Town dwellers often wore scarlet cloaks and perukes, buckled slippers and silk stockings."

Such was doubtless the kind of a community in which Pierre spent his boyhood and youth. The French habitants were unlikely to change their mode of life when Canada passed under British rule. Writing of the old French settlers even in the valley of the Wabash after their lands became American territory, Judge Law says:<sup>2</sup> "The change of government seems to

<sup>2</sup> John Law, *The Colonial History of Vincennes*, Vincennes, 1858, pp. 124-125.

have made no great difference in their habits or manners . . . Submissive and obedient, they yielded to the powers that were, made no complaint, offered no resistance, cultivated their common fields, sang, danced, smoked their pipes, . . . content to take this world as it went."

Yet the elder Menard showed an independence of judgment and a love of liberty quite at variance with the characteristics just described; that these traits were present also in his son is shown by the son's subsequent career. The father is said to have taken part in the campaign around Fort DuQuesne; when the Revolutionary war broke out, he joined the American forces and fought under Montgomery at Quebec.<sup>3</sup> The sentiments of the family were thus on the side of the American colonies, and sympathy with American ideals may have influenced the young man, after the close of the Revolution, to seek his fortune in the new nation. Many of his fellow-countrymen, French in blood and Catholic in religion, were already settled in the Illinois country, as it was called, especially at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. To Vincennes he came, in 1786 according to Governor Reynolds,<sup>4</sup> whose father was his fellow townsman in Kaskaskia.

The Illinois country, although named from the Illinois Indians whose hunting grounds and fields were in it, included, according to Alvord,<sup>5</sup> who had access to documents in the French archives, "the whole course of the Ohio and both banks of the Mississippi from the line of the Ohio to that of the Missouri and Illinois rivers." Jurisdiction over this territory, lying as it did between New France and Louisiana, was several times a matter of controversy between the governors of those two provinces. It was the scene of the campaigns of George Rogers Clark in 1778-1779, and was included in the territory relinquished by Great Britain to the American colonies at the close of the Revolution; but it was under no organized government other than that of the several villages within its bounds until by the terms of the Ordinance of 1787 the region became a part of the Northwest Territory. A governor, Arthur St. Clair, a secretary and three judges became the first governing body of the immense territory thus organized.

<sup>3</sup> Edward G. Mason, *Early Chicago and Illinois*, Chicago, 1890. (Chicago Historical Society's Collection, vol. iv, p. 144.)

<sup>4</sup> John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, Belleville, 1852. Repr. Chicago, 1887, p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> Clarence Walworth Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*. (Centennial History of Illinois, vol. 1, Springfield, 1920, p. 191.)

The country within the present limits of the state of Illinois was in 1800 an almost empty wilderness. A belt of territory along the east bank of the Mississippi known as the American Bottoms contained about twenty-five hundred inhabitants. "From Kaskaskia southeastwardly to the Ohio and northeastwardly to the Wabash there was probably not one home; a road, hardly usable by other than single horses, ran to each. Apparently one ran also from Vincennes to Cahokia."<sup>6</sup>

Letters written by Pierre Menard's parents to him after he left home are our only source of information regarding his movements during the earlier years of his life in the Illinois country. These and other letters, examined by Mason in the collection at the Chicago Historical Society, "treasured by him to his death, breathe a spirit of the tenderest affection for the absent son, and those of his mother especially, show the writer to have been a person of superior intelligence and education. She died at La Prairie, a village on the south shore of the river St. Lawrence, nine miles from Montreal, September 19, 1807." Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

A glimpse of this very village is afforded us in Peter Kalm's *Travels into North America during the French Regime*: "In the midst of the village [La Prairie] is a pretty church of stone, with a steeple at the west end of it furnished with bells. Before the door is a cross, together with ladder, tongs, hammer, nails, etc., which were to represent all the instruments made use of at the crucifixion of Our Saviour."<sup>7</sup> From this church doubtless Pierre Menard's beloved mother was taken to her final resting place.

One of the letters referred to above, written to him by his mother from Montreal and dated June 9, 1789, alludes to one of his dated July 6th of the preceding year, showing that he was at Vincennes certainly in the summer of 1788. The other letter is one from his father addressed to "Mr Pierre Menard, Clerk for Mr Vigo at Poste Vinsene." François Vigo, Menard's employer, was a leading man in the Illinois country, known as the

<sup>6</sup> Francis S. Philbrick, *The Laws of Indiana Territory*, Springfield, 1930, introd., p. xiii-xiv.

<sup>7</sup> Cited in Priestley, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

"Spanish Merchant" on account of his birth and long residence at St. Louis, then in Spanish territory.<sup>8</sup>

Vigo had been a soldier in a Spanish regiment ordered first to Havana and then to New Orleans. Here he quitted the army and engaged in the trade with the Indians. Seeing the possibilities of the fur trade, he went up the Mississippi to St. Louis where he was settled at the time of George Rogers Clark's famous campaigns. His services to Clark were indispensable to the success of the American cause, but were not requited nor were his loans repaid until after Vigo's death. He was a man of sterling character, widely traveled and highly respected by the Indians, whose confidence he possessed. Reynolds learned, perhaps from his father, that in 1789 Pierre Menard accompanied Vigo across the Allegheny mountains to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where they had an interview with President Washington in relation to the defense of the western frontier. Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, p. 291. Menard's subsequent career shows that he profited by his early association with this veteran Indian trader and man of affairs. The portrait of Vigo given in Smith's *Old Vincennes* shows a thin, weather-worn face with high-bridged nose and grizzly beard, the head covered by a toque.<sup>9</sup> As Vigo was commissioned a major of militia on June 26, 1790, it is possible that Menard got under him some of the military training which qualified him for high office in the militia a few years later. Menard's claim for land, based upon service in the militia in or before 1790, was affirmed in later years by the land commissioners. Colonel Vigo died at Vincennes on March 22, 1836. The date 1835 graven on his tombstone is, according to H. M. Smith, an error proven from the records of the undertaker consulted by Smith! So much for the presumptive finality of imperishable granite.

The Vincennes of Pierre Menard's sojourn we find described in a letter addressed by General Harmar, United States commandant of the Old Northwest, to the Secretary of War and

<sup>8</sup> H. C. Bradby, *History of Vigo County, Indiana*, Chicago, 1917, chap. v; Colonel Francis Vigo. Hubbard M. Smith, *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes*, Vincennes, Ind., 1902, pp. 160-165. John Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-30. *The St. Clair Papers*, arr. and annot. by William Henry Smith, Cincinnati, 1882, II, p. 166.

<sup>9</sup> A larger and better reproduction of apparently the same portrait, said to be from a drawing by Chas. Alex. Lesueur, appears in Reynolds's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 423. Lesueur was an artist and ichthyologist who was for a time associated with Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana.

dated August 7th, 1787.<sup>10</sup> "Post Vincennes," he writes, "is a very considerable village, situated upon the Wabash, about one hundred and twenty miles from the mouth. It contains near four hundred houses—log and bark—out-houses, barns, etc.; the number of inhabitants, about nine hundred souls French, and about four hundred souls American. Monsieur Vincennes, the French officer from whom it derives its name, I am informed, was here and commenced the settlement sixty years ago." Cauthorn<sup>11</sup> says that the town "at first huddled and centered around the present locality of the Catholic Church. The old fort, built by François Morgan [Margane] de Vincenne in 1702 [1732-1733], was located on the river between what is now the Catholic Church square and the [Wabash] river, and between Barnet and Vigo streets." Smith, in a chapter devoted to the subject, gives a history of the fort and a picture of it as repaired and enlarged by the British governor Henry Hamilton in 1778. The cut shows a large stockade of logs set on end, surmounted by a coping pierced with loop-holes. At each corner is a block-house and within the enclosure a larger one, which was doubtless the citadel. A gateway gave access. The story that a second fort was built in 1787 and named Fort Knox is shown by Smith to rest upon a misunderstanding of General Harmar's direction to Major Hamtramck, reading: "Let your fort be named Fort Knox." Only the name was changed, as a compliment to the Secretary of War at the time, General Knox.

The first Catholic Church in Vincennes was built in 1749; at least that is the earliest date in its parish records, the priest at that date being Father Louis Meurin; a mission may have existed at the place before that time. A cut of the church, given in Smith's *Old Vincennes*, shows a building built of logs set on end, the roof being of logs also, bound down by cross logs; the gable in front is surmounted by a tiny belfry ending in a cross. Law's description confirms this view of the building, which he says was "chinked and daubed." He believes that the building antedated the earliest record of April 21, 1749. The famous Father Gibault was stationed here from May, 1785, to October, 1789, according to Judge Law, who examined the record, thus being Pierre Menard's pastor during the latter's stay in Vin-

<sup>10</sup> *St. Clair Papers*, II, 26-27.

<sup>11</sup> Henry S. Cauthorn, *A History of the City of Vincennes from 1702 to 1901*, Terre Haute, 1902, p. 17.

cennes. Father Gibault is quoted in a *History of Knox County* (p. 289) as having written that a new church was built there in 1784. But Smith says that Father B. J. Flaget, upon his arrival to take the church in 1792, describes the building as "poor, open and neglected, the altar a temporary structure" and, continues Father Flaget, "I found the congregation in a worse state even than the church." How, asks Smith, could the "new" building of 1784 have become so dilapidated by 1792? The church of St. Francis Xavier, described above, was probably the building in which Pierre Menard heard Mass. After Father Gibault's departure a layman, Pierre Mallet, appointed by him, acted as "guardian of the church" until the arrival of Father Flaget.

A partnership was formed between Pierre Menard and Toussaint Dubois in 1790 or shortly after, according to Reynolds, and the two left Vincennes and settled as traders in Kaskaskia, situated on the tongue of land between the Kaskaskia river and the Mississippi near the junction.<sup>12</sup> That Menard was a trader in Kaskaskia in 1792 we know from the wording and date of an ante-nuptial contract preserved among the Menard Papers, its date is June 13, 1792, and it reads—translated from the original French—in part as follows: "Before the Notary Public of the county of St. Clair, in the country of the Illinois.<sup>13</sup> The undersigned, residing in the parish of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady of the Kaskaskias . . . and the undersigned witnesses were present. In person Mr Pierre Menard, a bachelor . . . a trading merchant living in the said parish of Kaskaskia . . . and Miss Thérèse Godin, called Tourangeau, daughter of the late Mr Michel Godin, called Tourangeau, and of Dame Thérèse Ste. Gême Beauvais, her father and mother, living in the beforementioned parish of the Kaskaskias . . . aged nineteen years . . . have agreed to have made between them the agreement and articles of marriage, as follows . . . "<sup>14</sup>

The terms of this contract, which may be found in full in

<sup>12</sup> *Pioneer History*, pp. 291, 434.

<sup>13</sup> St. Clair County, established by Governor St. Clair in 1790, embraced all the territory between the Illinois and the Ohio rivers from north to south, and from the Mississippi and the Illinois east to about the median line of the present State of Illinois. *Blue Book of Illinois, 1929-1930*, p. 684.

<sup>14</sup> The spelling of the French names varies: Gaudin, Godin, Thourangeau, Durangeau, Gême, Gemme. The spellings found in the official Kaskaskia records as given in Alvord's edition (*Illinois State Historical Library*, V, 1909) are Godin, Durangeau, St. Gême, Bauvais.

volume four of the Chicago Historical Society Collections, indicate that at this time the French law, based upon the so-called "Custom of Paris" and brought with them by the early French settlers from Canada, was still followed. French law prevailed even after the passing of the Ordinance of 1787 by virtue of a special clause of that instrument. The Ordinance safeguarded "to the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskia, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property."<sup>15</sup>

The village of Kaskaskia began with arrival in 1703 of the Kaskaskia Indians who were moving from their temporary home at the Des Peres River on a site which is now within the municipal limits of St. Louis. The low lands bordering the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to that of the Kaskaskia, known later as the American Bottom, were occupied by French settlers at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and lesser villages. Captain Philip Pittman visited Kaskaskia and wrote, in the account of his travels printed in London in 1770: "The village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the Country of the Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation. It stands on the side of a small river, which is about eighty yards wide, and empties itself into the Mississippi more than two leagues below the village. The river is a secure port for the large bateaux which lie so close to the banks, to load and unload without the least trouble, and at all seasons of the year there is water enough for them to come up . . . Another great advantage that Cascasquia receives from the river is the facility with which mills for corn and plank may be erected on it . . . The principal buildings here are the church, and the Jesuits' House, which has a small chapel adjoining it; these, as well as some of the other houses in the village, are built of stone and, considering the part of the world, make a very good appearance."

The village was the scene of exciting events in the George Rogers Clark campaigns; was part of the western lands ceded by Virginia in 1784 to the United States, but suffered with the surrounding region from the lack of adequate government until

<sup>15</sup> The text of the Ordinance may be conveniently found in the *Blue Book of Illinois*.

the arrival of Governor St. Clair in 1790. The French settlers had difficulty in establishing titles to the lands cultivated by them, and one of the tasks of the new Governor was to receive and examine the claims of the inhabitants. He writes to the Secretary of War, in a letter dated at Cahokia on May 1, 1790: "They are the most ignorant people in the world. There is not a fiftieth man that can either read or write, the consequence of which has been that everything where they are parties has languished extremely. Though they are ignorant, they seem to be the gentlest, [most] well-disposed people that can be imagined, and their manners are better than might have been expected, considering their ignorance, the want of proper government, and the grievous oppression under which they have groaned since they fell under the American dominion."<sup>16</sup>

This description should perhaps be somewhat discounted. Alvord says that "the better classes were educated to the same extent as were their contemporaries in France"—but where?—"and the lower classes were for the most part, illiterate." Volney found that in Vincennes in 1796 six out of nine could neither read nor write. "It is difficult," Alvord continues, "to characterize the French colonists with any assurance of truth. The disorder and licentiousness of a frontier community, whether of French, Spanish, or British stock, have always made a deep impression on the visitor from more settled communities; and in a general condemnation the members of the official class have readily joined, since it excused their incapacity to maintain order. The French villagers have experienced this universal condemnation."<sup>17</sup>

The militia was an important arm of government. It was the police force of the time and was indispensable to the community in meeting frontier conditions. On October 5, 1795, Pierre Menard was commissioned by Governor St. Clair major of the First Regiment of Militia of Randolph County, which the Governor had that very day established, with Kaskaskia as its county seat. This commission was renewed on August 1, 1800, by John Gibson, acting governor of Indiana Territory.<sup>18</sup>

St. Clair County, from which Randolph County was set off, extended in 1790 from the Illinois and Mississippi rivers eastward to a line running from Fort Massac on the Ohio, about

<sup>16</sup> *St. Clair Papers*, I, p. 168.

<sup>17</sup> Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, p. 217.

<sup>18</sup> *Pierre Menard Papers*, p. 167.

forty miles above its mouth, to the Illinois river below the present Peoria. The lower third of this territory was set off as Randolph County in 1795; it was extended eastward almost to the Wabash river in 1801. St. Clair County took in all of Illinois to the north.<sup>19</sup> Indiana Territory, of which these counties formed parts, included in 1800 the present states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana except a triangle in its south-east corner between the mouths of the Kentucky and the Great Miami rivers.

The system of courts established by Governor St. Clair in 1790 for the county of St. Clair included those of common pleas, general quarter sessions, the justices of the peace, and the probate court. The scanty records of the Court of Common Pleas of Randolph County show, according to Philbrick, that Menard sat in that court before 1800. On February 5, 1801, he was appointed by Governor William Henry Harrison one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas and he served in that court until March 1, 1809. He was notably regular in his attendance. Menard was named with John Edgar and John Griffin on September 24, 1802, to serve on a commission of inquiry concerning crimes in the Territory, and was county commissioner from 1803 to 1809.<sup>20</sup> The salary of judges was eight hundred dollars a year until on March 3, 1807, it was raised by act of Congress to twelve hundred. "Judged by present-day standards of spelling," says Philbrick, "most, if not all, of the county judges seem but semi-literate. No evidence has been seen that any of them had schooling, or owned or read books."<sup>21</sup>

The land question was now to inject into the politics of Indiana Territory an issue of intense bitterness. Alvord describes the situation: "On March 26, 1804, an act was passed, by Congress, making provision for the disposal of land in the Indiana Territory in quarter sections and reserving the sixteenth section in every township for a school and an entire township in each district for a seminary . . . The announcement that the United States had appointed commissioners to straighten out the tangled web of land titles made valuable the cessions that had been yearly sinking in esteem. A violent hysteria of speculation in

<sup>19</sup> See the admirable outline maps appended to Philbrick's *Laws of Indiana Territory*.

<sup>20</sup> Alvord, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Philbrick, *op. cit.*, ccii, ccxxx; McDonough, *History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties*, p. 125.

<sup>21</sup> Philbrick, *op. cit.*, cciv-ccv.

these old titles broke out; everybody sought to accumulate claims, and dealing in them became the speculative mania of the villages . . . The land commissioners were empowered to compel witnesses to attend their meetings and to administer oaths; it was their duty to pass judgment, in the first place, on all titles and to report to Congress their findings for confirmation or rejection . . . The report was finally completed on December 31, 1809." The commissioners of the land office for the district of Vincennes, on December 14, 1805, appointed Pierre Menard a deputy commissioner to take depositions and examine witnesses within the county of Randolph. That he should have been selected to conduct these inquiries in his own village when, as Alvord says, "some of the most honored men in the communities became involved in the meshes of the grossest deceit and few who possessed the means to speculate could pride themselves on having maintained an irreproachable innocence," speaks well for Menard's honesty and prudence. The commissioners at Kaskaskia found in his claims, which were large, nothing discreditable. Claims for 8557.4 acres were affirmed to him. In 1808 he held 12,600 acres. The Randolph County Court of Appeals on October 15, 1807, fixed the value of the lands belonging to nine persons, among whom was Pierre Menard, at a dollar and a half per acre. In 1805 he was listed as delinquent in the payment of a retail licence amounting to sixty dollars; but the richest man in town was at the same time listed as delinquent to the same amount. Money was scarce in the community. Yet in 1808 Menard was taxed for 12,600 acres of land.<sup>22</sup>

Strangely enough, Menard's honesty was used as a means of defrauding him of what was rightfully his own. The court records show that one of the land-grabbers "forged the names of witnesses, deponents and grantors; even the names of fellow judges, Menard and Hull."<sup>23</sup> In 1812 Menard addressed to the second board of land commissioners a protest against a ruling that they had already made in favor of claims supported by forgery. He tried to hold 3822 acres against John Edgar, 3804 against William Morrison, 1200 against Jarrot and disputed 1500 with others. Conflicting claims were common.<sup>24</sup> "A little group

<sup>22</sup> Alvord, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-421; Philbrick, *op. cit.*, lxxiv, cxx.

<sup>23</sup> Philbrick, *op. cit.*, lxxxix-xc.

<sup>24</sup> Philbrick, *op. cit.*, xcii-xcii.

of men controlled the entire local government, judicial and administrative," writes Philbrick, whose testimony for the period of Indiana's territorial government is based upon unquestionable sources. "They recommended each other, and a few friends, to the governor as fit to keep the taverns; . . . Similarly they and a few others held the ferry licenses. As county commissioners—for with rare exceptions they acted as such themselves—they appointed the tax collectors, and assessors if none were elected; supposedly pursued delinquent collectors and taxpayers . . . and supposedly pursued themselves as delinquent commissioners. They tried each other for misdemeanors and nonpayment of debts."<sup>25</sup>

The slavery question was a factor in Illinois politics almost from the passing of the Ordinance of 1787. In its sixth article that instrument declared: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within the Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes." The French settlers in the Illinois country owned slaves, and upon the passage of the Ordinance became alarmed. Some took their families and slaves to the other side of the Mississippi river; others prepared petitions to Congress asking for the repeal of the article regarding slaveholding. One after another of these petitions was presented between 1796 and 1809. Even after 1818 agitation for the calling of a constitutional convention to revise the first Illinois constitution in favor of slavery continued up to 1824, when the people finally voted decisively against it. Pierre Menard was elected a delegate to the convention that met in Vincennes in November, 1802, to consider the legalization of slave immigration. "In all these petitions," says Alvord, "there is evidence of almost no opposition to the introduction of slavery in the Illinois part of the Indiana Territory; still it is in the discussion of the subject that two factions in the Indiana Territory first became apparent; both were pro-slavery in character; but they wished to attain their ends by different means. The leader of one of these factions was Governor Harrison . . . In Illinois the outstanding men who looked to the governor for guidance were Pierre Menard, with a large following among the Frenchmen, and Dr. George Fisher, both of Kaskaskia."<sup>26</sup> The issue of the factional struggles was the establishment of Illinois as a sep-

<sup>25</sup> Philbrick, *op. cit.*, cli-clii.

<sup>26</sup> Alvord, *op. cit.*, pp. 422-423.

arate territory in 1809. Its boundaries extended northward to the Canadian line. But let us retrace the course of Menard's career from 1806. Indiana Territory passed to the second stage of territorial government in 1804 and two years later he was appointed by President Jefferson to the first legislative council of Indiana, which met at Vincennes; but he resigned on September 19, 1807, for disputed reasons. In that short term of service he signed one bill of importance for higher education in the State, the charter for the first institution of learning, Vincennes University. (*Blue Book of Illinois, 1927-1928*, p. 320.)

Menard had been in the Indian trade for many years. He gained his earliest experience from the veteran trader François Vigo. Reynolds says, doubtless deriving his information from his father, that while Menard was still in Vincennes, he procured from the Indians supplies for the army under generals Clark and Scott. "He headed many parties out from Vincennes to the Indian hunting-grounds and packed meat back for the troops."<sup>27</sup>

The Pierre Menard papers contain bills and contracts showing that in his store at Kaskaskia Menard dealt not only in goods for the Indian trade, but in building supplies, tools, and other things needed by a frontier settlement. In 1799 he sold to two Baltimore men  $923\frac{1}{3}$  acres of land, purchased by him from some of his fellow townsmen, who preferred to sell rather than await the fulfillment of the promises of Congress to confirm them in their holdings, or pay the expense of a survey. The price paid by the Baltimoreans was nine thousand dollars. The Randolph court record of 1805 shows that in that year he operated a ferry. The entry states that he paid the license fee of five dollars and filed bonds.<sup>28</sup> In the following year he became associated with others in an enterprise of great extent.

A Spanish trader named Manuel Lisa had in 1800 secured from the Spanish government the exclusive right to trade with the Osage Indians on the Osage river, in territory that is now in Kansas and Missouri. Following the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1806, Lisa headed an expedition up the Missouri river. Branch finds Lisa's operations of significance in tracing the history of the frontier. "Lisa halted in the heart

<sup>27</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>28</sup> *History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, Illinois*, p. 101, cited in Alvord, p. 420n; Philbrick, *op. cit.*, cli n.

of the Crow domain at the mouth of the Bighorn," he writes, "and there built the first American trading post, Fort Lisa, in the upper rivers of the Far West. Again in St. Louis in the summer of 1808 Lisa interested several Westerners of capital, Pierre Chouteau, William Clark and eight others, in the formation of the Missouri Fur Company." Pease says that Menard was associated with both of these enterprises. Reynolds writes of Menard: "He was a partner in 1808 in the mammoth company of Emanuel Liza (*sic*) and others, and remained in the Rocky Mts. a year, doing business for the company."<sup>29</sup> Lisa is described by Greenbie, in a recent book on the fur trade, as a man of boundless energy. "In twelve years, to the time of his death," he writes, "he made twelve trips to the Missouri, covering twenty-six thousand miles. Army officers and scientists always found a welcome at his post . . . The goodfellowship and indefatigable enterprise earned for him as much as \$35,000 in profits in a single year."<sup>30</sup> Menard must have profited by association with such a lucrative venture; but how long he was associated with it does not appear. Perhaps a careful examination of the Pierre Menard papers would yield details of this period of Menard's life.

Mrs. Menard died in 1804, leaving four children. On September 22, 1806, Pierre Menard married Angelique Saucier, daughter of François Saucier and Angelique La Pensée, and granddaughter of François Saucier. The latter was a French officer once stationed at Fort Chartres, which was on the east bank of the Mississippi seventeen miles above Kaskaskia. The marriage was performed at Kaskaskia in the church of the Immaculate Conception, by the parish priest, Donatien Olivier.<sup>31</sup> Hon. Henry S. Baker, who knew the Menard family, says of Mrs. Menard: "A lady noted for her generous hospitality and her elegant and refined manners. Her charities were the gifts of silence; unknown to the world, they were dispensed with a loving hand, to the poor and unfortunate."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> E. D. Branch, *Westward, the Romance of the American Frontier*, New York, 1930, p. 302; Pease, *The Story of Illinois*, p. 85; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

<sup>30</sup> Sydney Greenbie, *Frontiers and the Fur Trade*, New York, 1929, pp. 156-158.

<sup>31</sup> Mason, Pierre Menard, citing a letter of Mrs. Augustine Menard, Nov. 25, 1888.

<sup>32</sup> H. S. Baker, "The First Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, an Address," (Chicago Historical Society Collection, IV, 156-157).

Menard was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Randolph County militia by the governor on July 12, 1806, and this commission was renewed by Secretary Nathaniel Pope on May 6, 1809. His reputation as an efficient militia officer seems to have extended beyond the bounds of the county, for the governor of Louisiana Territory on April 1, 1809, appointed him captain of militia on special service, the precise nature of which does not appear. In the list of judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Randolph county the name of Peter Menard appears as one of the judges, appointed January 23, 1811; but Alvord says that he resigned on the following February 11.<sup>33</sup>

Illinois Territory passed to the second stage of territorial government on May 21, 1812. The change provided for a general assembly composed of representatives elected from counties or townships, in addition to the governor, secretary and three judges. In October of the same year the first legislature was elected and also representatives to Congress. Pierre Menard represented Randolph county in the territorial legislature. The Journal of the executive council for 1812, which is included by James<sup>34</sup> in his Territorial records of Illinois, shows Menard taking a leading part in its proceedings from the very start. On December 21 "on motion, Resolved that the Council go into the election of the President and on casting up the votes Mr Menard was duly elected and took the chair accordingly." He held that office by successive reelection for the next six years until in 1818 he became lieutenant governor of the newly admitted State of Illinois. In the struggle over slavery in December 1817 he voted against the repeal of the laws permitting the holding of indentured servants—a form of slavery for a limited period. Buck says that he held aloof from the political factions of the period; his honors were due to his universal popularity.<sup>35</sup>

Speaking of Menard's service in the legislature, Reynolds says: "He presided in that assembly, as he did in many subsequent cases, with good, common-sense, but without pomp or parade . . . He had a sound, solid judgment and true patriotism to govern his actions in these legislative assemblies. He never made speeches of any length but, like Franklin, told anecdotes that were extremely applicable and made remarks that showed

<sup>33</sup> *The Governors' Letter-books, 1818-1834*, Springfield, 1909. (Illinois State Historical Library Collections, vol. 4, p. 10n).

<sup>34</sup> E. J. James, *The Territorial Records of Illinois*, Springfield, 1901.

<sup>35</sup> Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 202; Philbrick, *op. cit.*, cccli.

both his good sense and patriotism. Many of the wise and equitable laws which have made Illinois so prosperous came out from under his fostering care."<sup>36</sup>

Following the passing by Congress of the enabling act, on April 18, 1818, a constitutional convention assembled at Kaskaskia in August of the same year to draw up the first constitution of Illinois. "The draft of the constitution," says Buck in his chapter on the framing of the constitution "was finally reported by the committee of fifteen on Wednesday the twelfth. It consisted of a preamble and eight articles, the greater part of which had been copied from the constitutions of neighboring states . . . The 'first reading' took two and a half days and at its conclusion a committee of five was appointed, none of which had served on the committee of fifteen, to suggest additional articles or sections which it might consider necessary to complete the draft of the constitution. The work of this committee was primarily to prepare a schedule for putting the new government into operation."<sup>37</sup> One of the suggestions of this second committee was not only of peculiar significance as regards the subject of our study but was almost unique in the history of constitution-making. The constitution as originally adopted required that the lieutenant-governor should have the same qualifications as the governor, including citizenship for thirty years. The section, as submitted in the schedule of the second committee, however, reads: "Any person of thirty years of age who is a citizen of the United States and has resided within the limits of this State two years next preceding his election, shall be eligible to the office of lieutenant-governor; anything in the thirteenth section of the third article of this constitution contained to the contrary notwithstanding." Governor Ford's explanation of this section, which Buck says is "doubtless correct," is that "Col. Pierre Menard, a Frenchman and an old settler in the country, was generally looked to to fill the office of lieutenant governor; but . . . he had not been naturalized until a year or two before."<sup>38</sup> Baker's comment on this incident is just: "Was there ever such a tribute paid to a man?—and that too by the voice of a free and independent people? There is no precedent in history

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-294.

<sup>37</sup> S. J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, Springfield, 1917. (Illinois centennial publications, introd. volume, pp. 267-268.)

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois . . . 1818 to 1847*, Chicago, 1854, p. 26. Cited in Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

where the organic law of a free people had been changed or modified for the benefit of one not seeking the benefit of that modification."<sup>29</sup>

We may follow Baker in his account of the service of Menard while presiding over the senate of Illinois' first legislature. "During the time that Col. Menard held the office of lieutenant-governor," he says, "a series of laws were adopted for the government of our young State, which laws have to a great extent become the foundation of all subsequent legislation . . . Nothing remarkable was transacted until 1821, when the legislature created the State Bank of Illinois and sought to induce the United States government to receive its notes as land-office money. Col. Menard had more common-sense than the entire legislature upon that subject and was opposed to the whole scheme." The anecdote told by Gov. Ford, however, that Menard in broken English offered to bet a hundred dollars, after the measure had passed over his protest, that the state bank notes would never be received as land-office money, is discredited by Baker. "He was too dignified and polished a gentleman to act unbecomingly while presiding over the senate." If he said what was reported, he said it in good English and after the adjournment of the senate, when the policy of the measure was being discussed.

At the close of his term as lieutenant-governor in 1822 Pierre Menard declined further political honors and retired to his home and to the conduct of his private business. Yet he was later called upon to negotiate a treaty with the Indians, a form of service which he was singularly well qualified to fulfill owing to his long experience and to the veneration in which he was held by them. Let us at this point review the situation of the Indians in Illinois during the lifetime of Menard and his relations with them as trader, Indian agent, and negotiator.

On April 2, 1813, John Armstrong, secretary of war, had appointed Pierre Menard United States sub-agent of Indian af-

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<sup>29</sup> H. S. Baker, *Pierre Menard*, pp. 153-155.

fairs at Kaskaskia. What was the field of operations and the duties of an Indian agent at this time?<sup>40</sup>

The confederacy of five Indian tribes known as the Illinois, found by the French explorers who first visited the Mississippi valley in the seventeenth century, had been almost wiped out by their neighbors during the following century.

"By 1818 the Cahokia, Michigamea, and Tamaroa had disappeared as distinct tribes," writes Buck; "the Kaskaskia, much weakened, lingered on in a reservation of 350 acres left them by the whites near the town of Kaskaskia; while the remnants of the Peoria still lived near the former habitat of the confederacy on the Illinois river. Next to the Kaskaskia, the nearest neighbors of the white settlers in the south were the Kickapoo, who were scattered along the valley of the Sangamon from the headwaters of the Kaskaskia river to the Illinois. They also appear to have had one or two villages west of the Illinois. Farther north were the Sauk and Fox, who although not completely amalgamated, mingled with each other a great deal and sometimes lived in the same villages. In spite of the nominal cession of all their lands in Illinois, the principal villages of these tribes were still located near the mouth of the Rock river with other villages extending along both sides of the Mississippi and into the interior. Generally speaking, these tribes may be said to have occupied the western part of the triangle between the Mississippi and the Illinois, and between the Mississippi and the Rock rivers. The greater part of the domain of the Winnebago was in what is now Wisconsin, but a small wedge-shaped portion of it extended into Illinois between the Rock river and the eastern watershed of the Mississippi. Some of the villages of this tribe were located on the Rock. The whole northeastern part of Illinois was occupied by the Potawatomi with the associated bands of Ottawa and Chippewa. They had villages on the Rock, the Fox, the Kankakee, the Illinois, and also in the interior between these streams and the neighborhood of Chicago" (pp. 1-2).

These tribes lived along the borders of rivers, differing in that respect from the Indians who hunted the bison on the open prairies or those who hunted in the depths of the forests. Their

<sup>40</sup> An excellent and authoritative account of the Indian tribes living in Illinois Territory is given by Solon Justus Buck in his introductory volume to the Illinois Centennial publications entitled *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield, 1917). Chapter I deals with the Indians and the fur trade. The author relies upon the papers of the Indian Office, Emma H. Blair's *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, a compilation of reports of French and American officials located in the region, *American State Papers*, and other works listed by him in his bibliography.

mode of life is described by Major Morrell Marston, U. S. A., commanding at Fort Armstrong.<sup>41</sup>

"They leave their villages," wrote Marston to Jedidiah Morse in November, 1820, "as soon as their corn, beans, etc., is ripe and taken care of, and their traders arrive and give out their credits and go to their wintering grounds; it being previously determined on in council what particular ground each party shall hunt on. The old men, women and children embark in canoes, and the young men go by land with their horses; on their arrival they immediately commence their winter's hunt, which lasts about three months . . . They return to their village in the month of April and after putting their lodges in order, commence preparing the ground to receive the seed" (p. 3). The tribes that Major Marston is describing were the Sauk and the Fox; but those with whom Pierre Menard came in contact doubtless lived in much the same way, as all were Algonkin except the Winnebago, who were Dakota. The reference to traders and to credits requires further elucidation.

Fur traders had been the first to enter the Indian forests and these were French *bourgeois*; the work of paddling the canoes and carrying them across portages was performed by *voyageurs*, and other laborious duties about the camp or on the march were performed by the *engagés* as they were called. After the territory of New France passed to Great Britain and later the Mississippi valley came under American control, the French boatmen and laborers were still indispensable to traders on account of their amenability to proper control. "The private trader . . . went out into the wilderness, carrying his goods to the Indians at their hunting grounds or villages . . . When cold weather approached the savages were usually without money or furs but it was necessary for them to secure many articles, such as guns, ammunition, traps, kettles, and blankets before they could set out for their wintering grounds. Since these articles could not be obtained at the factories [i. e. the government trading posts, which exchanged goods for furs but gave no credit] the Indians were obliged to resort to the private traders, who

<sup>41</sup> In 1818 there were four military posts in Illinois: Fort Dearborn, Chicago, which had been destroyed in 1812 but restored in 1816; Fort Armstrong at Rock Island; Fort Edwards, opposite the mouth of the Des Moines river; and Fort Clark on the Illinois river near the outlet of Peoria lake. They aided in keeping the Indians in check and protected the Indian department and the government trading posts. (Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 12.)

were more than willing to supply their needs on credit" (p. 19).

Many of the private traders at this time were British, who after the close of the war of 1812 were permitted to enter the territory only after they had received permission to trade there from the President; to the United States agents was delegated the power of deciding who should be permitted to do so. "Since the American capital employed in the industry was not sufficient to supply the needs of the Indians," writes Buck, "it was not thought wise at this time to exclude foreigners entirely" (pp. 15-16). Yet the influence of these British traders among the Indians, some of whom had but recently been in arms against the Americans, caused considerable embarrassment to the Government. The British were in the habit of making presents to the Indians among whom they traded; so the agents of the Government must perforce do likewise. In 1820 Pierre Menard, as sub-agent at Kaskaskia expended thirteen dollars "for ferrage of the Delaware chief and his party over the Mississippi"; nineteen dollars and fifty cents "for supper and breakfast furnished thirteen Indians, corn and hay for their horses"; and twenty-three dollars "for four hundred pounds of beef, and making a coffin for a Delaware Indian who was accidentally killed."<sup>42</sup>

"The Government had, then, three ends in view in its administration of Indian affairs on the northwestern frontier during this period: to preserve peace between the red man and the white settler; to destroy British influence and to render the Indians dependent upon the United States; and, lastly, to improve the condition of the savages or, if possible, to civilize them. There was a rather widely spread feeling that the whites owed a certain moral obligation to the Indians on account of the occupation of so goodly a portion of their best hunting grounds. The Government sought to carry out its policy by means of three separate and distinct agencies: the military posts upon the frontier, the Indian department, and the system of Government fur trading factories" (pp. 11-12). The four military posts located in Illinois have been mentioned above;—being forts Dearborn, Armstrong, Edwards, and Clark. The Indian department had its agencies at Mackinac, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, Chicago, Vincennes, Fort Wayne, and Piqua. While Illinois was still a territory its agents were responsible to Governor Edwards

<sup>42</sup> Cited in Buck, p. 15, from *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2:302.

at Detroit. "Charles Jouett was in charge of Indian affairs at Chicago, while Richard Graham acted as "agent for Illinois Territory"; the two sub-agents within the limits of Illinois were Pierre Menard and Maurice Blondeau" (pp. 12-13).

The duties of agents and of sub-agents were similar except as to jurisdiction. They discharged treaty obligations to the Indians, and were the intermediaries between the Government and the various tribes; they granted licences to trade and paid annuities. These annuities were not large. That due the Kaskaskia in 1818, which passed through the hands of Menard as sub-agent, was one thousand dollars. An equal amount was paid the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi residing upon the Illinois river. The Kickapoo received only nine hundred dollars (p. 13).

The Government trading "factories" have been mentioned. The first of these dated as far back as 1795. The purpose in establishing them was not to make a profit, such as was sought by the private traders, but to aid the Indian department in its administration of the frontier. The conduct of these was regulated by an act of 1811. "The President was given authority to establish factories at such places on the frontier as he might deem most convenient and to appoint a superintendent of Indian trade who should manage the business on behalf of the Government. The agents appointed to take charge of the various factories were to be responsible to the superintendent and render their accounts to him. The prices of the goods employed in the trade were to be regulated in such a manner that the original capital stock furnished by the United States should not be diminished . . . The furs, skins, and other articles obtained from the Indians in the course of trade were to be sold at public auction under the direction of the President at such places as should be deemed most advantageous" (p. 17). The Government factories were not permitted to give credit to the Indians, a circumstance that gave an advantage to the private trader. "The factories were so widely scattered that it was often necessary for the Indians who wished to exchange their peltries for the white man's goods to make long journeys with their furs" (p. 19). The private trader brought his goods directly to the Indian village. For these and other reasons the Government trading posts were not successful and were finally abolished in 1822 (p. 21). Unfortunately the private trader too often brought whiskey to exchange for the furs offered by the Indians. The efforts of the

Government agents to prevent or abate this grave evil were of little avail.

Pierre Menard's last public service was on a diplomatic mission to the Indians, the nature of which can be no better described than in the wording of the original commission, a copy of which is in the Pierre Menard papers, as printed by the Chicago Historical Society.

John Quincy Adams, President of the United States of America . . . To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:—Know ye, that in pursuance of the Act of Congress, passed on the twenty-fourth day of May, 1828, entitled "An act to enable the President of the United States to hold a treaty with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatimas, Winnebagoes, Fox and Sacs Nations of Indians" and reposing special trust and confidence in the abilities, prudence and fidelity of Lewis Cass of the Territory of Michigan, and Pierre Menard of the State of Illinois, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate do appoint them commissioners of the United States, with full power and authority to hold conferences and to conclude and sign a treaty or treaties with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pattawatimas, Winnebagoes, Fox and Sacs Nations of Indians. . . . Washington, May 24, 1828.

Reynolds mentions an incident seemingly connected with this mission, but the date given is 1826. "He and Lewis Cass were at the Lower Rapids on the Mississippi in 1826, on July 4, preparing for a treaty with the Indians, and during the festivities of the day, he named the town at the foot of the Rapids, Keokuk, which it has retained to this day." Keokuk was a chief of the Sauk and Fox Indians. "The Indians," says Reynolds in characterizing Pierre Menard, "almost worshipped him as they did the Great Spirit. At any time an Indian would prefer giving Menard his peltry for nothing, than to receive double value for it from a long-knife American . . . No man in the West had more influence with the Indian tribes than he had. He was appointed by the government in many cases to treat with the redskins."<sup>43</sup> Reynolds himself, when governor, sent him as Indian agent the following communication, dated Belleville, 21st July, 1831:

"Dear Sir:—I have before me a petition from many of the citizens of Shelby County, which is situated towards the head of the Kaskaskia River, informing me that some Indians . . . are insolent and are destroying their Stock, they wish them removed, and say, if the Indians are not started off, the Whites will remove them at all events . . . These Indians cannot be

<sup>43</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

permitted to live among the Whites and destroy their Stock. I am sorry that there is of late so much Indian trouble, and as a friend to all parties advise you to get them off as soon as possible."<sup>44</sup>

Pierre Menard died at his home in Kaskaskia on June 13, 1844. The record of his burial reads as follows: "On the fourteenth of June 1844 I, the undersigned, buried the remains of Colonel Pierre Menard in his vault—in the graveyard of this Parish, thither he was accompanied by an immense concourse of People. He died yesterday—the—[illegible in the original manuscript at the Chicago Historical Society] at 1½, having previously received the last sacraments, he was 72 years old. J. M. J. St. Cyr, parish Priest." By his second wife Pierre Menard left six children. The names are given in Mason's sketch, pp. 147-148.

We have seen how prominent was the part Menard played in the community in which he lived and how his fellow citizens respected and honored him. Yet Reynolds, who must have known him intimately, says: "It was not in public life where he excelled, but it was in his private and domestic conduct where his true and genuine benevolence displayed itself, and all the virtues that adorn and ennable the human family had a proper theatre in his heart for their action. The poor and distressed always received charity at his hand . . . In his younger days he had, as most others did, purchased lands of the citizens. These lands, together with his Indian trade and other means, made him a princely fortune; but his amiable and kind disposition diminished it to some extent. He could not refrain from being security for many individuals whose debts he was compelled to pay . . . The legislature of Illinois in 1839, as a marked honor to him, called a county Menard."<sup>45</sup>

Mrs. Menard died on February 12, 1839, five years before her husband, leaving six children. The names of all of Menard's children, with dates of birth and death, with other genealogical information, are given by Mason in his sketch.

The memory of Pierre Menard has been honored by several memorials. A statute of him, presented to the State by Charles P. Chouteau of St. Louis, the son of a former business associate of Pierre Menard, was erected on the capitol grounds at Springfield, the unveiling being held on January 10, 1888. Hon. Henry

<sup>44</sup> *The Governors' Letter-books*, p. 176.

<sup>45</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

S. Baker, who had known Menard and his family, was the orator of the occasion. His address, included in the fourth volume of the Chicago Historical Society Collection, is one of the few sketches of Menard's career available.<sup>44</sup> On December 3, 1919, a bronze tablet was placed by the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution upon the house built by Pierre Menard on the east bank of the Kaskaskia river. This house, built in 1802, has been purchased with its furniture by the State of Illinois. The bill for its purchase was introduced into the Fifty-fifth Assembly in 1927 by Sarah Bond Hanley, whose sketch of the pioneer, in the *Blue Book of Illinois* for 1927-1928, describes the house in part thus: "It is built of oak with interior finish of black walnut, in the French style of architecture. The windows have twenty-four small panes of glass and there are beautiful fan lights above the double doors. The shutters are cut from solid lumber. The mantels were imported from France and above them were beautiful gilt frame mirrors. The house is 77 by 44 feet, exclusive of kitchen . . . The kitchen . . . is floored with flag stones and has an immense rock fire place . . . and a capacious stone oven, and a sink made from solid rock" (p. 320).

This paper may close with an extract from a letter received on March 3, 1931, by the writer from Mrs. Franklin Miller, honorary state president of the United Daughters, 1812, in which she states that a marker was in September, 1928, placed on the grave of Pierre Menard by the members of that Society. "The marker is a bronze copy of the insignia of the Society—a star and anchor—with plain bronze plate below, on which is cut the name of the 1812 soldier—PIERRE MENARD."

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL

Oak Park, Illinois

<sup>44</sup> *Blue Book of Illinois* for 1927-1928 contains a sketch of Pierre Menard, pioneer, by Sarah Bond Hanley, accompanied by portrait, cuts of the statue and of the Menard home, still standing across the river from the former site of Old Kaskaskia.

## THE MARQUIS'S HOSPITAL

In the general archives located in the National Palace, Mexico City, where the nation preserves its heritage of documents dating back to the year of the conquest, 1521, there is a small room filled with a recently acquired archive, the property until last year of the Cortes family. Hundreds of thousands of unbound manuscripts, tied together without arrangement by year or contents, are now in process of being catalogued with the prospect of the publication of the most important. They contain papers relating to the business and charitable enterprises of Hernando Cortes and his heirs and descendants down to the present time, and, because they were kept in the Jesus Nazareno hospital, which Cortes founded, they are generally known as the Jesus Nazareno archive, though but a fraction of them deals with the hospital itself. According to the Mexico City newspapers of December, 1929, the government was informed that the present incumbent of the title of Marqués de Valle, title conferred by Charles V on Hernando Cortes in 1529, had disposed of some of the most valuable of these manuscripts to dealers in the United States, and in order to prevent further sequestration of national treasure, it confiscated the archive.

It seems probable that out of such a mass of reports, correspondence, etc., some new and important data will be discovered bearing on the foundation and early years of the hospital and of the Confraternity of Our Lady, under whose aegis the hospital was administered, but it must be remembered that this archive, difficult though it has been to use, has not been overlooked nor neglected by Mexican historians. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora<sup>1</sup> used it in the seventeenth century, and, in the nineteenth, Lucas Alamán<sup>2</sup> and Joaquín García Icazbalceta.<sup>3</sup> With what degree of completeness these writers examined the archive cannot be determined until all the documents which compose it become available for comparison with the history of the hospital as at present known. In view of a reasonable expectation that this may be in the near future, it seems worth while to review here the story as drawn from the above men-

<sup>1</sup> Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, *Piedad Heroica de Hernán Cortés*, Mexico, 1663. Very rare, but may be found in 1927 edition of *Obras*.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas Alamán, *Disertaciones sobre la historia de la República Méjicana*, 3 vols., Havana, 1873.

<sup>3</sup> Joaquín García, Icazbalceta, *Obras*, 9 vols., Mexico, 1896.

tioned historians, and from documents in the printed collections from the archives of Spain.

The original name of the hospital was the Hospital of the Immaculate Conception, Hospital de la Limpia Concepción de Nuestra Señora, and on April 16, 1529, Clement VII granted Cortes patronage of it in perpetuity.<sup>4</sup> Because of this grant and of the generosity Cortes showed towards the work both during his Mexican residence and in his will, the hospital has always been known as the Marquis's hospital. It was not his, however, strictly speaking. It was founded by the Confraternity of Our Lady, of which Cortes was elected majordomo in charge of the hospital during its first years. The confraternity, perhaps a branch of the Confraternity of Our Lady, founded in 1208, and surrounded by traditions of hospital service in Europe, was a voluntary association, somewhat like our present day sodality, founded to honor God and to advance the personal sanctification of each member. The members met weekly for some kind of religious service, and pledged themselves to work without pay in the hospital. They took turns as nurses, and besides, contributed always according to their means and generosity. In return, they had the right to certain indulgences on the usual conditions.<sup>5</sup> Wherever the colonists established hospitals, beginning with the first one, founded in 1503 in the city of Santo Domingo, and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was the general rule to have a confraternity specially interested in the hospital, and often directly managing it.

The conquest of Mexico, it will be remembered, was accomplished in 1521. The Hospital of the Immaculate Conception was founded soon afterwards. Father Cuevas<sup>6</sup> believes in the same year, basing his opinion on the statement by Cortes's friend, Bernal Díaz de Castillo, "eyewitness and true historian" that Cortes was always in the city seeing to it that the Spaniards founded hospitals and churches.<sup>7</sup> The statement by Castillo is

<sup>4</sup> Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 262-266.

<sup>5</sup> The indulgences given the Mexican hospitals were the same as those of Nuestra Señora de García of Saragossa, Spain. "Those who serve the sick in this hospital for days or for week [?] may gain after confession and communion a plenary indulgence on the day they enter the hospital for service and at their death." *Ordenaciones del hospital de N. S. de Zaragoza*, Saragossa, 1656, pp. 97-102.

<sup>6</sup> Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia de Méjico*, 5 vols., El Paso, 1928, I, 425.

<sup>7</sup> Bernal Diaz de Castillo, *Historia Verdadero de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, Chap. 170.

not definite enough for us to be sure of such an early date of foundation, but we do know that three years later it was spoken of in the city records as a landmark. In the earliest extant books of proceedings of the cabildo or city council, those of 1524, nearby house-lots were designated in their relation to "the house of Alonse de Grado, which is at present a hospital."<sup>8</sup>

We can, perhaps, better appreciate the promptness and enthusiasm with which the Spaniards founded their hospitals if we pause to consider what traditions of establishing and organizing hospitals they carried with them from Spain, and how necessary an aid to social well-being they considered them. Alfonso X, in the thirteenth century, incorporated into his code of laws, *Las Siete Partidas*, one decreeing that any legacy left to the poor of a community should be distributed by the hospital authorities. The Spanish hospital and the American one built in imitation of it, was not only a hospital in the narrow sense but a sort of poor house as well, where the indigent, the blind, the deformed, and the aged were cared for, in addition, it was, as we see from the law of *Las Siete Partidas*, a dispensing station for alms. The first Spanish hospital, of whose foundation proof exists, was built by Bishop Mansona in Mérida, province of Badajoz, in 580 for "whatever sick man, slave or free, Christian or Jew."<sup>9</sup> In the ninth century, church councils began to decree that bishops establish hospitals in their sees, and presently the poor, the sick, pilgrims, and the homeless were sheltered and cared for in houses grouped around the cathedral church. In the following century, monasteries placed infirmaries at their gates, to which certain members of the order were assigned as attendants and nurses to alleviate the sufferings of the adjacent community. By the fourteenth century, there were few cities or towns that did not have at least one hospital, and often there were many in the one city. It began to be common for individuals, either while living or through their wills, to found and endow hospitals for different sorts of patients, and many were thus founded by cardinals, bankers, merchants, noblemen, confraternities, and some by the municipalities themselves. So many were thus established, that there arose an agitation to unite all those in any place into one or at most two general city hospitals. The bishop of Lérida, by a papal indult of 1450,

<sup>8</sup> Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 160.

<sup>9</sup> Catholic Encyclopedia, art., "Hospitals."

merged six hospitals into one, and later, in the sixteenth century, sixty-six in Seville were consolidated into two, and twenty in Salamanca into one.<sup>10</sup>

We see, therefore, that the Spaniard who came to America expected to care for the poor and needy in hospitals and to provide treatment for the sick, poor and rich alike, and, moreover, that tradition placed, in general, one hospital near the cathedral under the direction of the bishop, attached others to parish churches and monasteries, and embraced the possibility of some of lay foundation. Thus it was as much to be expected of Cortes that he would found a hospital at once as that he would create a cabildo. It was part of the orderly functioning of the community.

The site Cortes chose was five or six blocks to the southwest of the cathedral, facing the then fashionable thoroughfare Ixtapolapa, today the Avenue J. M. Pino Suárez.<sup>11</sup> Here, before 1535,<sup>12</sup> was constructed a two-story building<sup>13</sup> about three hundred feet long, divided into two infirmaries or wards, one for men and the other for women. Some thirty years later, a second wing of the same proportions was added at right angle to the first, used also as infirmaries, though at later date found unsatisfactory as such and given over to other uses. We have an interesting dialogue,<sup>14</sup> written in 1554, which gives us the condition of the hospital in that year and public sentiment towards Cortes. The dialogue was written by one of the professors of the University of Mexico, and in it a visiting Spaniard is being shown the city.

"If Cortes had lived longer, I do not doubt that equal to his other works would be the hospital dedicated to the Virgin, which he began on so magnificent a scale.

"Its grandeur is assured by its beginning.

"The work will soon be advanced with the money already

<sup>10</sup> F. Hernández Iglesias, *La Beneficencia en España*, 2 v., Madrid, 1876, I, 277.

<sup>11</sup> Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 61.

<sup>12</sup> Under a window was found this inscription: "Diego Diaz Deusbona de nacion portugués hizo esta ventana, año de 1553."

<sup>13</sup> The material used was the soft rose-colored stone of Mexico called *Tesonile*, with trimmings of white limestone. The ceilings were of beautiful cedar beams cut on the Cortés estate in the nearby town of Tacubaya. One of these ceilings can be seen today in the inside vestibule of the church.

<sup>14</sup> Cervantes de Salazar, *Mexico en 1554—Tres dialogos latinos*, Mexico, 1875, pp. 157-159.

gathered for the tribute and assigned to the completion of this hospital.

"Beautiful facade and excellent plan of building."

The dialogue then continues on what it calls the real merit of such establishments, namely "what patients it receives and how it cares for them." It is difficult even to hazard a guess as to how many patients the hospital cared for. The wing first built could easily have housed a hundred, but whether it opened with enough beds for this number, or how many patients a year it attended, are among the queries that can be answered only if the Jesus Nazareno archive discloses the information. Sigüenza y Góngora, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, said that in his time the hospital averaged four hundred patients a year.<sup>15</sup> From him we learn also that the hospital employed a physician, a surgeon, a barber, a head man nurse and a head woman nurse, a cook, three Indians who kept the building clean, and eight slaves, colored, men and women who completed the domestic service. These data, however interesting as part of hospital history, give little or no light on conditions a hundred years previous, at the time of foundation. A surgeon the hospital did have, we know from a page of Bishop Zumárraga's account book for the year 1531.<sup>16</sup> The patients, according to Cervantes de Salazar, whose dialogue we have quoted above, were "all Spaniards suffering from fevers." Salazar wrote in 1554, the year in which the Crown established a royal hospital in Mexico City exclusively for Indians. Before this date the patients were without doubt "all Spaniards and Indians suffering from fevers." Had we no evidence to substantiate this statement we should be sure of it from the customs of Spanish hospitals, for centuries, to receive the sick regardless of race or color. We have, however, almost certain proof. Diaz de Castillo wrote that Bartolomé de Olmedo, chaplain to Cortes, gathered into one hospital "all the sick Indians and cared for them with great charity."<sup>17</sup> There was a second hospital founded in 1541 by Bishop Zumárraga for contagious diseases, and the Bishop himself tells us that it was opened to both Spaniards and Indians.<sup>18</sup> When the Royal Hospital opened, naturally, the Indians

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 64.

<sup>16</sup> J. García Icazbalceta, *Juan de Zumárraga*, Mexico, 1881. Apéndice, pp. 62-63.

<sup>17</sup> Diaz de Castillo, *op. cit.*, Chap. 170.

<sup>18</sup> Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, Apéndice, p. 137.

were transferred to it, but between the date of foundation and 1554 many a red-skin must have received treatment not only in the Bishop's but also in the Marquis's hospital.

As to the spiritual care of the patients, it was a primary consideration. As we have seen, Father Olmedo was the first chaplain. A chapel, later known as the Santa Escuela, was built before the hospital itself, and was the second church in the city. It was so situated that the patients, unable to attend Mass, could watch the celebration of it from their beds. The present church, planned and endowed by Cortes before his death, was not begun until 1575 and not completed until almost a century later. It had evidently been a project near to the Marquis's heart, for in a letter written to the King in 1536, Bishop Zumárraga<sup>19</sup> urged the immediate building of a fine cathedral, because he said, "the Marquis was thinking of erecting an elegant church in which the hours would be chanted, and thus no one to be buried from the cathedral church." In charge of the spiritual needs of the patients was a chaplain chosen first by Cortes and then by his heirs in accordance with the bill of patronage granted them by Clement VII. By the middle of the following century, according to Sigüenza y Góngora,<sup>20</sup> there were three chaplaincies attached to the hospital. It was the pious habit of most of the Spaniards and their descendants, the Creoles, and also of the rich Indians to leave in their wills sums of money providing for a certain number of Masses a year for the repose of their souls. In some cases they established an entire chaplaincy, in others, part. Such legacies must account for the two additional chaplains.

It was in this connection with the church that the change of name of the hospital occurred. In 1663, a rich Indian woman named Petronilla Gerónima died. She had had in her oratory a very much venerated statue of Jesus Nazareno, and, not being able to decide what church she wished to give it to, in a rather droll will, she named five churches and ordered that lots should be cast, and the statue given to the one which luck favored.<sup>19</sup> On a drawing of three out of five, the church of the Immaculate Conception won, and in solemn procession the statue was carried to the church. So great was the popular devotion at the new

<sup>19</sup> Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Documentos inéditos de Siglo XIV para la Historia de México*, 1914, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 65.

shrine that the church and the hospital began to be called Jesus Nazareno.

To return to the early years of the hospital and its financial arrangements. The treasury belonged in the beginning to the Confraternity. Cortes supplied a large part of the money for the building and running expenses, though others contributed, perhaps in big sums. The early majordomos were conquistadores to whom Cortes had been generous in the allotment of lands and towns, Antonio de Villaroel, for instance alyuacil mayor of the city. If such men were interested enough to give a part of their time and energy for several years to the work of managing the hospital, they, doubtless, gave freely of their money also. Cortes contributed towards the annual running expenses a thousand ducats in rents and mortgages;<sup>21</sup> Bishop Zumárraga gave a hundred pesos a year, when he could afford to, and, unquestionably, others were regular contributors.<sup>22</sup> All the records we have show that these gifts were given "to the hospital and confraternity." The report of the archdiocese in 1570 likewise lists the possessions in mortgages, rents, etc., which the hospital enjoyed as "property of the hospital and the confraternity."<sup>23</sup>

Cortes died in Spain in 1547, and in his will<sup>24</sup> he left to the hospital, he does not mention the confraternity, an annual income from various parts of his estate amounting to two thousand pesos, more or less, and, in addition, or rather, as a principal gift, the tithes and first fruits from the towns of his marquisate, after the expense of chaplain and church in each town or district had been subtracted. Cortes owned large portions of the valley of Mexico, of Oajaca, Toluca, Cuernavaca, Cuántle, Charo, Tuxtla, Tehuantepec,<sup>25</sup> and on this property he owed tithes on all agricultural and animal products, and also on the tribute due him from the Indians. All this would amount to a very considerable sum. By the bull<sup>26</sup> *Eximiae devotionis* of November, 1501, Alexander VI ceded to the throne of Spain the tithes due the church, and the Sovereigns, in turn, after the erection

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 61.

<sup>22</sup> Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 62.

<sup>23</sup> *Descripcion del Arzobispado de Mexico, hecha en 1570*, Mexico, 1897, p. 287.

<sup>24</sup> Alamán, *op. cit.*, II, 315-342.

<sup>25</sup> *Descripcion de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oajaca y otros lugares del Siglo XVI*, Mexico, 1904, 153-154.

<sup>26</sup> *Coleccion de documentos ineditos del Real Archives de Indias*, Madrid, Second series, V, 79.

of American bishoprics, in 1512, returned the tithes to the bishops.<sup>27</sup> By the bull<sup>28</sup> *Universalis Ecclesiae* of July 28, 1508, Julius II gave to the kings of Spain patronage over the church in their new colonies, that is, the right to present names for all benefices. Now, Clement VII, in a bull dated April 16, 1529, gave to Cortes and his descendants not only the right to patronage in perpetuity of the existing hospitals and of all other churches and hospitals he might found, but also all the tithes and first fruits of his marquisate.<sup>29</sup> This was an extraordinary bull in view of the royal prerogatives granted by previous popes.

The Crown, of course, would not recognize this bull, first because it was prejudicial to royal privilege as stated in the bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*, and second, because it had not received the visa of the Council of the Indies before being promulgated in America.<sup>30</sup> Cortes had made a test of it in 1530, and had lost.<sup>31</sup> The tithe-collector to whom the royal officials had farmed out the tithes brought suit against Cortes in 1532 before the Audiencia, or court of appeal, because he refused to pay tithes on his property in the archdiocese, amounting to fifteen hundred pesos, a sum equalling one-third the total tithes in that see. The Audiencia made him pay the money and the King sent for the bull, to which, of course, he refused his visa. So when Cortes wrote in his will this donation to the hospital he must have known that it was no more than a gesture of confidence in his own privileges as received from the Pope.

The hospital's actual donation was, then, an annual income of only two thousand pesos; but the heirs of the marquisate have been generous towards what was the great marquis's favorite charity. After Hermando's death when a timid government exiled the family, the administration of the hospital suffered. Funds were stolen, and the service was so poor, that in the early part of the seventeenth century the saying was "if Juan de Dios is bad, Jesus Nazareno is worse."<sup>32</sup> But this state of affairs was temporary; the Marquis's hospital has been

<sup>27</sup> F. J. Hernaez, *Collección de Bulas, Breves, y documentos Relativos a la Iglesia de America y Filipinas*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1875, I, 21-24.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 24-25.

<sup>29</sup> See note 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias*, Madrid, 1680. Lib. I, Tit. VIII, 1, 55.

<sup>31</sup> *Col. de doc. ined.*, First series, XIII, 237 ff.

<sup>32</sup> In 1604 the order of Juan de Dios came to Mexico and established themselves in the Hospital de la Epifanía or de los Desamparados, a hospital founded in 1582 by Doctor Pedro Lopez.

through the centuries a great blessing to the community. Part of the original building is still standing, and the Jesus Nazareno hospital, under government auspices, serves a part of the City of Mexico today.

Such is the story of the Marquis's hospital. It is today Mexico's only monument to the great soldier, poet, scholar, and gentleman, who founded that nation and organized it with such skill as to make posterity wonder at his genius. The monument was of his own building, and it was dedicated to his patron and advocate, the Blessed Virgin. In 1823, the ashes of this great man, to whom Mexico owed so much, had to be taken in the night from their resting place in the church attached to the hospital, in order to save them from being scattered to the winds by a people unbalanced by republicanism. Today, the government pays the popular painter, Diego Ribera, to vilify Cortes in poster art on the walls of his own old palace in Cuernavaca. However, the work of the Jesus Nazareno Hospital continues, and perhaps the ideals which it represents will produce a new generation better able to form a just appreciation of Cortes and of the things for which he stood.

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## CUSTOMS AND LEGENDS OF TEXAS INDIANS<sup>1</sup>

Twilight had fallen. The hills were assuming that indescribable purplish hue; the red glow of sunset was now a faint pink and lavender, a star twinkled here and there, and the hum of millions of insects floated in the air that was laden with the perfume of wild flowers. Instinctively I fell to musing and the thought of what had been in days gone by flitted through my mind. Almost three hundred years before a little band of missionaries slowly wended its way over trackless mountains and boundless plains from Mexico to far away Texas. For the first time the Indians that roamed over the land came into direct touch with European civilization. Even then, some of the tribes had unfortunately come into contact with Europeans, both on the coast and on the vast basin of the Mississippi, but the recollection was not pleasant, for they had been driven from their former hunting grounds into the west beyond. That little band of brown-robed Franciscans that entered Texas in 1689 were the first to come on a mission of love and out of solicitude for their welfare. To the accounts left us by these worthy soldiers of Christ must we now turn to catch a glimpse of that world that has so completely disappeared. In their diaries and memoirs are to be found today all that is left concerning the life, the manners, the customs, the habits, and the beliefs of that simple though cruel people that occupied the vast expanse of Texas when the curtain rises on the first act of the great drama of Texas history.

Did the Indians have any idea of God? What was their philosophy of life? How did they explain the great mysteries of nature? Simple and child-like, the untutored hordes had their own ideas on all these subjects, tempered by a rude and harsh reality. To them the creator of all things was the "Great Captain," called in their tongue *Caddi Yago*.

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<sup>1</sup> This study is based on the following sources: Juan Augustin Morfi, *Memorias para la Historia de Texas*, MS. (photostat copy in University of Texas Library); Juan Augustin Morfi, *Historia de la Provincia de Texas*, MS. (discovered by the author in Mexico City last December and copied for the University of Texas Library); Isidro Felis Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica*, Mexico, 1746; José de Solis, *The Solis Diary of 1767*, translated by Rev. Peter P. Forrestal, St. Edwards University, published in *Preliminary Studies* of the Texas Catholic Historical Society; Fr. Francisco de Jesus Maria Casafias, letters to the Viceroy of Mexico, August 15, 1691, in "Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinal Indians, 1691-1722," translated from the Spanish by Mattie Austin Hatcher, *Quarterly, Texas Historical Association*, Vol. XXX.

In the beginning of the world, they claimed, there was a woman who had two beautiful daughters. One of them was about to give birth to a child. It happened that one evening, as the two girls strayed along the fields in the spring, picking flowers, they were suddenly set upon by a ferocious beast that resembled a huge serpent, whose horns rose from its head and were lost in the skies. This creature was called *Caddaha*, or evil one, by the Indians. It fell upon the expectant mother and with indescribable fury tore her to pieces and devoured her, bit by bit. The sister of the unfortunate girl ran away as fast as she could and climbed the highest tree in sight, but the ferocious animal had no sooner finished feasting upon the victim than it set about to gnaw the tree on which the survivor had taken refuge. Seeing that the tree would soon fall, the girl jumped into a deep well that stood nearby. She dived into the still waters and came out a long distance away, where she found her mother.

The beast, determined to get the sister, began to drink the water in the well, thinking the girl was at the bottom, without realizing that the well had no bottom but opened into the sea. His efforts proved futile, for as fast as he could drink, the well filled up and the water kept its level.

The mother and the remaining daughter made their way back to the scene of the tragedy. There, on a small acorn shell, they discovered a drop of bright red blood, the only silent witness of the monster's brutality. The mother tenderly picked up the little acorn, placed another half shell over it, and carried it home. She then placed the acorn in a small jar and set it in a corner.

That night she was awakened by a peculiar noise, as if something were knowing at the jar. She got up and went to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. Much to her surprise she discovered that the little drop of blood had changed in the bottle into a small human figure, the size of one's little finger. She carefully replaced the cover over the jar and went back to sleep.

The following night she heard the same noise and got up full of curiosity to see what caused it. Imagine her surprise on finding that the small figure had become a full-grown man. Much pleased with the discovery, she lost no time in bringing him a bow and arrow, and, removing the top of the jar, let him out. He immediately inquired after his mother, whereupon he

was informed by the grandmother and aunt of her tragic end. Filled with rage and sorrow, he set out in quest of the *Caddaha*, or evil one, determined to avenge the death of his mother. He found him after a while and shot an arrow from his bow that hit him so hard that it is said the devil has never again had the courage to appear in this world.

The young man, nameless till now, returned to his grandmother and aunt and told them it was not safe to remain in this world, exposed to the wiles and snares of the evil one, and they agreed to go with him to heaven. They all ascended into heaven and from there *Caddi Yago*, the "Great Captain" has ever since been ruling the world and watching the evil one.

They not only believed in the "Great Captain," who was their principal deity, but also in life after death or immortality. When a member of the tribe died, a lugubrious death song was intoned and a dance was held. With proper ceremonies the departed one was placed in the burial ground with his bow and arrow, his best clothes, his feathers, and his beads. Just before burial one of their priests would seriously advise the departed one, whispering in his ear, "to work hard in that other house . . . until all shall have assembled."

It was thought that those who died went to a large house where they were to wait until everyone in the world had died, at which time all would start from this house to a new world. They were not to stand idly around while waiting for the rest but must work in the meantime. It seems, from their sayings, that they thought the older residents in the house of death did not work as hard as the new arrivals but actually seemed to take delight in getting the newcomers to work immediately. One account says that the souls in the house of death would say, "Here he comes! make him work until we are all assembled!" when a new arrival appeared in sight.

As in all primitive societies the medicine men of the tribe were personages of no mean importance. They enjoyed all kinds of privileges, being the first to taste of the food and wine at all ceremonies and the only ones allowed to sit in a raised seat higher than the captain himself. The first fruits, as well the choice pieces of game, were always for them. They were distinguished from the rest by their peculiar dress, a tuft of feathers worn on the head, and a number of curious necklaces made of different snake skins brightly colored. Naturally the greatest

desire of the young men, particularly those endowed with ambition and intelligence, was to become medicine men. This was greater than to be captain, and certainly gave the scheming youth a much greater opportunity of enjoying the good things of life than anything else.

But to attain his desire the ambitious candidate had to submit himself to a severe ordeal. All the medicine men of the tribe would meet on an appointed day to examine the candidate. One of the chroniclers assures us that there were a great many medicine men and that this sort of medical board of examiners were extremely jealous of their high position and great prerogatives, for which reason the young aspirant was put through a severe test according to their lights. The supernatural or mysterious was inseparably associated with the practice of medicine, magic being indispensable to cover the absence of science.

The medicine men having assembled and the whole tribe being gathered with an abundant supply of provisions and drink for the occasion, the candidate was brought forward. He was first given various potions, previously prepared, all of which he drank in generous quantities and with great frequency. He was also handed a pipe and given abundant tobacco, specially prepared for the occasion, to smoke. The result was that he soon fell into a swoon or trance and remained in this condition for twenty-four hours at least, during which time the rest of the tribe and the examiners engaged in merry-making, weird singing, and much eating and drinking. After twenty-four hours of real or feigned sleep, the candidate began to give signs of returning consciousness, breathing deeply from time to time and moving as one about to come out of a trance. As he regained consciousness he would pretend not to know where he was and would begin talking of what he had seen and where he had been during his sleep, claiming that his soul traveled far into the unknown regions where many things unknown to human kind were revealed to him. The good friar remarks that the "impostors" generally made up a fictitious and most incredible story of what they had seen as they went along.

The ceremonies then continued for eight days, during which time the medicine men sang weird songs and joined in fantastic and grotesque dances, while the women formed a row all around, with dishevelled hair, adding their lugubrious moaning to the infernal music. Fires were kept burning, both for ceremonial

purposes and for cooking the food. During all this time various medicine men would hold long and serious conversations with the candidate, during which he would feign to be possessed by superhuman understanding. At the conclusion of the examination and different trials, a great festival was held and the new member of the medical association was acclaimed with much rejoicing.

But all was not roses. If there were many honors and privileges enjoyed by the members of this cast, there were also grave dangers. If a sudden epidemic appeared in any locality—this was a common occurrence given the unsanitary conditions in which they lived—and the medicine man was unsuccessful in saving his patients, the rumor soon spread that he had the evil hand, that he had lost favor with the divinity that gave health, consequently he was no good any more in healing them. The end was as swift as it was awful. The men would gather, chiefly the relatives of the recent dead treated by the unsuccessful impostor, and, without ceremony, club him to death. The Nacogdoches, in particular, demanded success. It is claimed that this tribe was very severe with the medicine man that failed to restore the patient to health. The relatives of the deceased would take clubs and fall upon the unfortunate doctor, making a quick end of him.

When called to attend a patient, the first thing he did upon arrival at the house was to build a large fire. He then made ready his fifes and a large fan of feathers. With curiously carved sticks that resembled the rattles of a snake he would make an infernal noise by playing upon a stretched dry skin, adding to the weirdness of the performance by his doleful chant that resembled the song of the condemned, according to the chronicler. In the meantime the patient was "warming up" for treatment, placed over a grate of live coals set under his bed. Generally the ceremony preceding treatment would begin in the afternoon and last until the early hours of morning.

From time to time the medicine man would treat the patient by applying his lips to the abdomen of the sick man, pressing as hard as he could with his head and sucking furiously at the skin. While performing this operation, he dexterously introduced various objects and coloring matter into his mouth, which he would later spit out after each operation to show that he was drawing out the cause of the illness. Some times he even in-

troduced worms into his mouth, which he would later spit out, declaring they were the cause of the illness. This treatment was successful only when applied to snake bites or freshly infected wounds, observes the chronicler, because then the sucking produced its effect.

The high priests and medicine men also predicted weather. Their predictions generally went unfulfilled, but many superstitions grew around them. It was a common belief that if there were many ticks in the spring—and there always are, declares the good padre—the crop of beans would be very abundant. In the winter the dying coals of a fire should never be enlivened by blowing on them with a feather or straw fan, for this would cause the fine ashes that were blown up in the air to bring down a heavy snowfall. If the rains were heavy in March and April the rainfall during July and August would be scanty indeed and there would be a bad drought. But the good friar observes that whenever a drought was predicted by the wise men of the tribe the crops were usually lost because of excessive rains. The control of the elements has led in all times to ridiculous practices. Not very long ago all kinds of measures to bring about rain were advocated by numerous rain-makers.

Were the children of the plains inured to the soft charm of spring and the universal passion of love? Not exactly. The sturdy young warriors felt the urge of tenderness and the pangs of love as keenly as our sophisticated youth. The customs of courting differed somewhat in the various tribes. Among the Tejas the young brave who wished to court the favor of an Indian maid first cultivated the friendship of her kinfolk. He would then go out and bring the finest game possible, the most valuable pelts in his possession, and other highly prized tokens and approaching the wigwam of his lady love he would drop them at the door and retire a short distance. The maid did not take up the offerings, but called her parents to see them. If the parents considered them of sufficient value to indicate the worth of the suitor and the extent of his love, they took them in. This was a sign of acceptance of the suit. The brave could now call on the maid. He could not marry her, however, without the consent of the Caddi or chief who must be consulted on the match and invited to the wedding feast.

But matrimony lasted as long as the couple were satisfied with each other. "At the least misunderstanding, each one,"

declares the chronicler, "looks for another companion." The matches were easily broken without much formality, and it seems that woman's desire for finery and jewels was as strong and as much the cause of matrimonial unhappiness as it is today. The good padre states that the women often left their husbands "especially if the woman finds a man who can give her things she likes better." Some times the husband wore mourning to display his grief at conjugal disloyalty, and there are instances where the adulteress was chastised with heavy lashes of the whip, but in the main they attached little importance to chastity or conjugal loyalty and the standard of married life was low in the extreme.

According to the missionaries the Tejas Indians were a comely lot. "The men of this tribe are fair-completed, handsome and well-proportioned; they go about without any clothing except a breech clout. They are all covered with red and other colored paints. . . . The women, with blond, dishevelled hair, are most beautiful, white-skinned, and pleasant. They wear shammy dresses embroidered and adorned with fringes. They use beads of various colors and hang from the lobes of the ears long, smooth, polished bones." Another missionary confirms this description of the Tejas women declaring that they are "beautiful, white, graceful, and very affable, without lacking in honesty, and specially modest with strangers."

Throughout the year they dressed with decorum, wearing two *gamuzas* (especially tanned and dressed deer skins). One of these covered them from the waist down to the ankle; while the other, with a hole or opening in the center for the head, covered them from the neck to the waist. The skirt was tastefully decorated with small white beads and little seeds embroidered along the border. The edges of the upper garment were all curiously edged with a fringe "which makes it very pretty," declares the padre.

These Indians were particularly fond of community festivals. The building of their homes, the planting of the crops, the gathering of the harvest, all these were occasions for community festivals. Strange as it may seem they appear to have had a celebration that resembles remarkably well our feast of the May. No definite day was set aside each year, but during this month the whole tribe would go out into the woods and select the tallest and most slender pine tree they could find. A brave would then

climb the tree and carefully trim off all the branches except the very top. The tree would then be cut down with due ceremonies and removed to a large open space previously selected, cleared, and leveled. It was here set up and two tracks were marked off around it and made as smooth as possible to facilitate the races. On the appointed day, before daybreak, all the tribe would gather about the tree. The strongest and swiftest runners took their places on the two tracks marked out while the remainder—men, women, and children—ranged themselves around the open space as spectators and judges of the race. In breathless silence the runners and the tribe awaited the first ray of sunlight to stream over the horizon. At the sight of the sun a wild shout of joy rent the air and the racers set off. The braves ran along the tracks for hours, the women wailing for those that fell out exhausted early in the race and cheering for those who remained. The one who ran the fastest and made the most rounds was acclaimed victor. The races over, the whole tribe joined in merrymaking, eating, drinking, and dancing until far into the night.

Their war dances, their cruel treatment of captives, and their many tricks have been more commonly described and will not be discussed in this paper. An example of their great admiration, cult we might say, for courage and bravery cannot be omitted. In their estimation this was the highest virtue. A brave and courageous man was worthy of all consideration.

According to the story, it happened that Lieutenant Antonio Tremiño was one day unexpectedly attacked while on his way with a small escort from San Antonio to La Bahia. The enemy greatly outnumbered his men, and the suddenness of the attack put them at a disadvantage. All his companions were killed by the first charge of the Taovayases and he himself received several wounds. His horse fell dead and he was forced to take refuge behind a tree, from where he continued to fight undismayed. The leader of the Indians, impressed by his bravery, ordered his followers to cease fighting, and, approaching Tremiño, told him it was useless for him to resist, that he would certainly perish, that it was a pity to see the life of a brave man thus uselessly sacrificed. Convinced by these words, he agreed to surrender, after having been offered good treatment. Much to his surprise the Indians immediately made a rough stretcher of sticks and brush, tenderly placed him on it and carried him back

to their camp with the greatest solicitude, offering him on the way the best they had. Upon arrival at the Ranchería, a house was made ready for him, Indians were ordered to serve and cure him, and when he was restored to health they gave him an Indian maid for his wife, as any member of the tribe. So much confidence and respect did they feel for him that he was always called to their councils, even the most secret, and his advice asked on all questions.

But after two years of this life, Tremenio grew sad and fell into a melancholic mood. The Indians realized he was homesick for his own people. The chief called him and told him he had never been considered a prisoner, that he was at liberty to go when he pleased, that they had tried to make him happy and induce him to live with them, but that if he wanted to return to his people, everything would be made ready. Tremenio was much impressed by these words and a few days later set out for San Antonio. He was accompanied by a number of Taovayases who came to protect him from other Indians. All his belongings were returned and he was presented with several good horses. When the party reached the vicinity of San Antonio, the Indians took leave of their "brother," as they called him, assuring him that any time he needed help or wanted to see them, he knew the way to the Ranchería. "And this was told me," declares Father Morfi, "by Tremenio himself, at the presidio of Bexar where I met him. . . . This single story reveals their character."

CARLOS E. CASTANEDA

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## A MIRACLE IN MID-AMERICA?

We have no official *Acta Sanctorum* of the missionaries and pioneer priests of the American prairies and forests. No society of American Bollandists has passed on the genuineness of those extraordinary feats which annalists claim were performed during the missionaries' labors for Christ. But occasionally some feat, some extraordinary performance, stands out strikingly in a challenging way, and the mere historical data supplied by the circumstances fail to meet the challenge in a perfectly satisfactory manner, and fall quite short of solving the problem involved on purely natural grounds.

Of all the remarkable missionaries who labored in the Mississippi Valley since the days of Father Marquette, there are none who can surpass in continued effort and in success, the Rev. Francis Xavier Weninger, S.J. The fruits of his labors after three quarters of a century are still so apparent in some congregations in Iowa, and, it is presumed, likewise in other states, that the grandchildren of those who heard him know him today by name and speak of him with veneration and awe. And that Heaven itself set its seal of approval upon his work in a spectacularly preternatural fashion would seem manifest to us today, not merely from references in his own writings, but from the reliable and credible testimony of hundreds who were witnesses of some of these extraordinary events.

An intensely colorful career was that of Father Weninger in America; his movements to and fro on his cyclonic missionary journeys—no other adjective brings out the effects of his efforts among the people for whom he labored—through most of the states of the Union, were kaleidoscopic and dramatic. His life was quite eventful even before his arrival in America. Born near Marburg in Austria, he was educated at the gymnasium there. Later while studying pharmacy at Leibach, he made a marked impression on a member of the royal court, who spoke favorably of him to the Empress Carolina Augusta. The latter gave him a scholarship at the University of Vienna, where he completed his classical studies, and then decided to prepare for the priesthood. He earned his doctorate of divinity and was ordained at the age of twenty-five. After serving as professor at the University of Gratz, he applied for entrance into the Society of Jesus and became a member in 1832. In 1840 he was

confessor to the Duchesse de Berry, whose father-in-law was soon to become King Charles X of France.<sup>1</sup>

Until 1848 he was almost constantly engaged in professional work at the renowned University of Innsbruck. Such was his zeal that besides performing his scholastic duties, he heard over 20,000 confessions a year, and occupied three pulpits regularly. The exciting revolutions that broke out in the various German states in 1848 put an end to much of his work, and he applied for and was granted, permission to come to the United States to labor as a missioner.

Arrived in America, he spent the next forty-five years of his life almost entirely in giving missions and retreats. The phenomenal success that followed him in this field did not prevent him from devoting his spare time to the writing of books and pamphlets. He wrote a series of books on religious topics adapted for his missions; he published a number of volumes of his sermons; and he was a frequent contributor to religious magazines and newspapers. That he was no mean theological writer is apparent from the strikingly favorable comment of the Holy Father, Pius IX, on his volume, "The Infallibility of the Pope." More good had been done, wrote the Pontiff, "by this single book than by all the missions" of the author.

Father Weninger's missionary labors took him through all the country between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, through all the states of the Mississippi Valley from Wisconsin to Louisiana and Texas, and through the lands of the Far West. After mastering the English tongue, he was soon able to address congregations with almost equal fluency in German, French and English, but most of his work was among the German congregations. While on the Pacific coast he made himself at home in the Chinese settlements and when in the South before the Civil War he gave missions to the slaves, on one occasion receiving over fifty of them into the Church. His long and spiritually fruitful life ended on June 29, 1888, at St. Xavier's in Cincinnati, but his remains now rest in the valley of the Father of the Waters at Florissant, Missouri.

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<sup>1</sup> These general facts of Father Weninger's life are taken from a series of articles appearing from June to December, 1927, in *Central-Blatt und Social Justice*, (St. Louis), the Central Verein's official publication. These articles were based on Father's Weninger's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben in Europa und Amerika*, his unpublished Memoirs.

Father Weninger had left Austria during the revolutionary year of 1848. Before that year, during it, and shortly after it, thousands of Germans involved in the several revolutionary movements and chagrined at the failure of their attempts to establish democratic government at home, rushed away to embrace the great free Republic of the West. Many thousands of them settled in various parts of the Mississippi Valley, and it was the fortune or misfortune of Father Weninger to be thrown in frequent contact with them. They were not only avowed enemies of their former governments of Europe but also of their established religions. Most of them, and even the former Catholics among them, were strongly infected with the virus of anti-clericalism. Carl Schurz, that romantic revolutionist of Germany, and military hero and political genius of the United States, known favorably to Abraham Lincoln and other Americans of his day as "that tremendous Dutchman," a man who had abandoned the Catholic faith of his fathers, had become their idol. And Father Weninger's aggressive career among them was, of course, by no means a happy one.<sup>2</sup>

It was sometime during the year of 1853 as the valiant Jesuit missioner was laboring in Wisconsin that Bishop Loras of Dubuque heard of his herculean successes. Bishop Loras immediately made arrangements with Bishop Henni of Milwaukee to secure the services of Father Weninger for his diocese, and the missioner arrived in Dubuque in the fall to commence a series of missions in Iowa. From the very beginning, Father Weninger encountered opposition and persecution from the "forty-eighters"—the German revolutionists. His own description of their tactics in Dubuque furnishes an enlightening sample of this opposition.

"I opened the first mission in Dubuque itself, the largest city in the state, situate on the Mississippi and seat of the Bishop. Iowa numbers among its inhabitants many fugitives from Europe, and consequently a large number of most determined enemies of religion, one may even say most rabid enemies of God. The mission and its quickening and saving influence were quite discomforting to these radical sons of Satan. How often did I not hear in one place and another throughout the entire state of Iowa the incessantly repeated assurance: 'If you had not come I would have been lost forever; I was about prepared to cast all faith and religion overboard.'

<sup>2</sup> On the German revolutionists in America, see *Carl Schurz, Militant Liberal*, (1930), by Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

"The exasperation of the hostile, atheistic, anti-Christian elements, on the other hand, promptly and plainly became evident by two attempts against my life. One by hurling a bottle of nitric acid, or oil of vitriol, through the window of my room onto my bed, the other in broad daylight, in the street. I was on my way to comply with a sick-call, wearing my priestly garb, that is, the garb of my order, and carried the Blessed Sacrament with me. Suddenly two horsemen galloped up the street, one of whom, seeing me dressed in my cassock, called out to the other: '*Reit doch den Pfaffen nieder!*' ('Ride that Papist down!') This horseman thereupon actually rode straight towards me at full gallop. I did not yield an inch but let him come straight at me. The horse was immediately in front of me when the rider suddenly reined it to one side. I had expected to be knocked down, but I suffered no harm, my hour had not yet come. I do not know whether the man was startled by my calm bearing or whether some other circumstance caused him to jerk the horse aside just as it was about to hurl me to the ground."<sup>3</sup>

After this incident one of the first places which Father Weninger visited for the purpose of conducting a mission was Guttenberg, forty miles north of Dubuque, a beautifully scenic little town on the Mississippi. It had been known as Prairie La Porte in the days of the Indian traders, but with the arrival of the Germans, among whom were many revolutionists, it had been named Guttenberg, after the inventor of the printing-press.

Here, one of the first acts of the missioner was to cause the erection of a mission cross near the church on the high bank overlooking the river. This was in accord with his unfailing custom in the first years of his missionary activities. He generally arranged to have the cross of huge dimensions, forty or fifty feet in height, and set on a pedestal of nine or ten feet. In farm parishes such a cross would be set up in the churchyard; in a city where several parishes conducted a joint mission, it was erected in the most prominent place of the community. In connection with these public gatherings, Father Weninger sought to have ceremonies as impressive as possible. Soldiers from nearby garrisons were invited to participate in the processions. The town cannon, often used by the local authorities in those days for civic and national celebrations, was pressed into service to fire salutes at the erection of the outdoor mission cross. The carpenters at Guttenberg attached large, round knobs to the tips of the beams.

It was during this mission, on the afternoon of October 7,

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of the Ludwig Missions-Verein* for the year 1853, p. 406 *et seq.* (Munich, 1854); *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, January, 1931.

1853, at three o'clock, that there appeared in the sky a large white cross. According to Father Weninger's diary, this remarkable heavenly cross appeared on three other occasions. In 1856 when he passed Guttenberg on a steamboat he again saw the cross in the firmament, and it appeared also in later years during the missions conducted at Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Monroe, Michigan. But it is this first appearance of the celestial cross at Guttenberg in 1853 that attracts the attention of the historian because it seems so well verified and authenticated. Father Weninger referred to this event several times in his writings, and we quote here his own words from a sermon delivered in his late years.

"It happened in the year 1853 when I gave a Holy Mission in Guttenberg, Iowa. It was in October in the week when the feast of the Holy Rosary is celebrated, and I was commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of my first holy Mass which I celebrated on the feast of the Holy Rosary, 1828, in Vienna, Austria. On Friday afternoon about three o'clock a large cross twenty-five feet in height was raised in the open near the church. . . . As this cross was elevated a bright cross appeared in the sky. It did not move but stood still for about fifteen minutes, then gradually disappeared. It seemed about 100 feet long, with cross beams of nearly 25 feet. A lady noticed it at first and she drew the attention of others to the same. Several persons made a sworn statement before a notary as to the truth of the vision."<sup>4</sup>

In his Memoirs, Father Weninger stated that when the Bishop of Dubuque heard of the affair he sent two priests to make an investigation. All those questioned answered under oath and insisted on the reality of the appearances. And today we actually find reference in the Dubuque archives to this report of the event to Bishop Loras. In a letter written in French to Bishop Loras exactly a week after its occurrence, Father Weninger said: "A mon retour à Dubuque après la Mission de New-Vienna je vous donnerai des détails sur l'apparition d'une croix au ciel, au temps de la plantation de la croix de la Mission. L'apparition dura un quart heure et des Catholiques même des Protestants en sont témoins." ("Upon my return to Dubuque after the mission at New Vienna, I shall give you the details concerning the appearance of a cross in the heavens at the time of the planting of the mission cross. The apparition lasted a quarter of an hour, and Catholics as well as Protestants are witnesses to it.")

Bishop Loras kept no diary and so we are unable to learn the

<sup>4</sup> From a sermon preached on May 26, 1882. Weninger's *Predigten*.

result of Father Weninger's report on the cross. But that the Bishop was impressed by the news is clear from the fact that on the back of the letter he wrote: "Apparition d'une croix au ciel." And that he held the missioner in highest esteem and honor is further apparent from the fact that he wrote on the back of the last letter received from him just after he had finished his remarkably successful tour through Iowa: "Rev. F. X. Weninger, S. J. The Apostle of Iowa."<sup>5</sup>

But it is from the descendants of the pioneers of Guttenberg who were present at the mission of Father Weninger that we find multifold, and to this day, unchallenged, verification of this celestial apparition. Time and again have these descendants, many of them among the most intelligent, educated and cultured people of the community, heard the details of this event from their fore-fathers who were witnesses of it. Mr. Kamphaus, the chief carpenter, who had supervised the making of the mission cross, delighted in later years to narrate to the young people how, standing in the shadow of the cross he had erected, he saw its heavenly counterpart gleaming in the sky. Dr. Hofbauer, one of the leading revolutionists of the town and a former Catholic, remained away from the mission, but his wife was one of the principal witnesses of the event. The grandchildren of Mrs. Winkels recount how this lady, a non-Catholic before the mission commenced, beheld the apparition and was able to give the names of thirteen persons among her acquaintances alone who were eyewitnesses of it. Mr. and Mrs. Heitmann, among the oldest settlers of the community, have handed down their testimony to the present age, through their children and their children's children. A short search among the citizens of the beautiful and picturesque river town of Guttenberg revealed many more names and instances than this. But another bit of testimony is cited because it confirms Father Weninger's claim that sworn statements of witnesses were taken at the time before a notary. Mrs. Gerald Herman Eilers was in the crowd near the mission cross, when she heard the lady at her side, a Protestant, cry out: "My God! What do I see?" And looking up, she beheld the celestial cross. Mrs. Eilers recounted that this Protestant lady, having been among the first to behold the apparition,

<sup>5</sup> Letters of Father Weninger to Bishop Loras, Guttenberg to Dubuque, October 14, 1853, and Burlington to Dubuque, November 27, 1853, in Dubuque archdiocesan archives.

appeared before a notary to give her testimony, when her husband, a violent revolutionary, arrived upon the scene and led her away, refusing to permit her to testify.

Is it a concession to credulousness for the historian to look upon the appearance of this heavenly cross, witnessed alike by Catholics and by Protestants, by believers and by atheistic German revolutionists, as something supernatural, something miraculous? Of course, its appearance can be ingeniously explained and correctly, too, as due to natural causes, to the refraction of the sun's rays and their action on the clouds. But the extraordinary coincidence of its occurrence at the very moment of the open air mission ceremony and the erection of the great wooden cross on the high bank of the Mississippi, seems to add to the event, to say the least, a special, a profound significance. Father Weninger himself was never so bold as to refer to this incident as a miracle in his Memoirs. He relates the affair with the same quasi-casual air which marks all his descriptions. He speaks of gigantic prairie fires, of hair-raising accidents on the road or on the river, of malicious attacks of revolutionists, and of these apparitions, in the same easy tenor, entirely free from all undue emphasis, as he speaks of the ordinary sermons given during a retreat. Whether the coincidence be considered natural or supernatural, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the appearance of the celestial cross was some sort of Divine approval of the remarkable labors of the saintly Weninger, the heroic Jesuit missioner, whose life and work have influenced the Catholic history of the Mississippi valley even to this day.

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## DOCUMENTS

### A CIVIL WAR DIARY

Not the least interesting and valuable books in the library left by my father, William J. Onahan, were his diaries dating from 1856 to his death in 1919. They are really a history of Chicago.

The first entry is on his twentieth birthday, November 24, 1856. He writes: "I am here today full of life, hope and ambition relying however on the kindly justice of the Almighty. And when my earthly career shall be brought to a close, be it tomorrow or be it long years hence may God grant that I shall not be unprepared." There follow accounts of lectures by prominent men, civic events of various kinds, the organization of the Catholic Institute and its meetings; also, his more personal affairs, an ever widening acquaintance with the attractive young ladies of early Chicago. The circle finally dwindled to one. On Sunday, July 8, 1860, he writes: "Today the greatest event of my life, the fulfillment of long yearning hopes was consummated. My destiny was forever linked with Maggie. Twas but yesterday I may say we decided upon it and now it is an accomplished fact. The day, the scene, the circumstances are indelibly fixed on my memory. I hope the Almighty will favor and bless our union, our Blessed Mother be forever our Guardian and protectress. And O vast future be thou propitious! With great hopes and fond anticipations we commence our new life."

The entries from the years 1856 to 1860 are of so personal and intimate a nature that it has been deemed advisable to start with the journals dealing with the Civil War. The following excerpts are taken from that period. As he was what was known as a "Douglas Democrat" his lack of enthusiasm for Abraham Lincoln may be at least partially understood.

MARY ONAHAN GALLERY

Chicago, Ill.

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Wednesday, May 16, 1860. Meeting of the Republican National Convention. At twelve o'clock today I was present and heard Governor Morgan of New York read the call of the convention. Wilmot of Pennsylvania was made temporary chairman. He made a noisy speech, the text "Freedom and Freemen." Order prevailed and as far as I can judge all goes on harmoni-

ously. Immense crowds everywhere. Hall crammed. City all excitement.

Thursday, May 17. The excitement grows more and more intense. Multitudes are still thronging in from all quarters. The Wigwam presents an enlivening spectacle—thronged to density. The scene this evening upon the reading of the "Protection to Home Industries" plank in the platform was beyond precedent. One thousand tongues yelled, ten thousand hats, caps and handkerchiefs waving with the wildest fervor. Frantic jubilation.

May 18. Balloting commenced this morning. I was present when the result of the first ballot was announced. Seward 175½—Lincoln 102. On the second Lincoln gained 70 votes and on the third he was nominated. Then what a scene! Yesterday was a dignified display to this. Pity that Seward should have been thus cast out and Lincoln taken in. I was present likewise at the nomination of Hamlin of Maine for Vice president.

Saturday, May 19. The excitement is on the wane. Lincoln fails to excite the genuine enthusiasm which the nomination of Seward would undoubtedly have evoked. The city is still thronged but the signs betoken speedy exit.

Tuesday, August 14. The advent or rather the return of the Zouaves is the feature of today. The bells ring for them at noon and in the evening a great demonstration was held. Our little family flocked to town this evening to witness the reception of the Zouaves. After a severe trial of patience they came. Enough to say that we did feel rewarded for our trial of endurance.

Saturday, September 8. Terrible news is whispered from ear to ear this morning. Tis said the "Lady Elgin" which left here last evening for Milwaukee with three to four hundred excursionists from that city is lost with all or nearly all on board. Subsequent advices proved this to be a fearful truth. Two hundred souls sent in a moment with no note of warning to eternity. Tis dreadful beyond all expression of words. A thousand homes are desolated in our sister city. Truly tis said in the midst of life we are in death. Requiescat in pace.

Sunday, September 9. The Bishop [Duggan] preached at the cathedral this forenoon and alluded feelingly at the close of his discourse to the terrible disaster the thought of which fills all hearts with sorrow and so many with bitter, bitter anguish. Today sad scenes are witnessed on the shore of the lake. Bodies

from the wreck are being hourly washed ashore melancholy vestiges of the precious freight of humanity which but a little while ago revelled in all of life's buoyant activity. The wail from the desolated city of Milwaukee is heartrending. Hundreds of homes in one ward alone are now like vacant places, lampless, lightless and full of mourning. Wives without husbands, children without parents, parents without children. May God have pity upon these afflicted ones, and be unto them as a Father, kind and merciful.

Monday, October 1. This promises to be a great week for Chicago politically and otherwise. Seward speaks here tomorrow when there will undoubtedly be a great Republican demonstration.

September 2. Governor Seward in Chicago today. Disastrous news from the Papal States.

October 5. Douglas home again.

October 6. Douglas spoke to five thousand people.

October 18. Springfield. In Springfield this morning. After finishing my business I introduced myself to Abraham Lincoln, in all probability our next president. He nearly frightened me he looked so cadaverous.

November 5. The eve of a day of great importance to the American people. Tomorrow decides the character of our government for the next four years at least. Republicans are confident, Douglas men have only the courage of despair to animate them. Yet they will not give up. As things look now tis doubtful if Douglas carries a single state. Illinois goes for Lincoln by 10,000, Douglas may carry Missouri, Colorado and perhaps Oregon. I am not posted as to the South.

November 6. The events of today are important and may mark a crisis in the annals of our country. The election for President is held. The election of Abraham Lincoln the Republican or Anti-slavery candidate seems imminent, I may say, inevitable. Douglas the man who deserves the office and would do most good has no chance. I voted for Douglas and Johnson, Popular sovereignty and Non-Intervention. Tonight the issue is decided yet I now have no positive knowledge of the result. There is hope that New York may go against Lincoln. That is the last, the only hope. Let us see.

November 8. An awful catastrophe occurred at our wharf this morning. The propeller "Globe" exploded and hurled death

and destruction on every side. I had a narrow, a providential escape. Had not been three minutes out of the boat when the calamity occurred. Tis a terrible scene, the dead, dying and wounded. Walter Hale is among the missing and is supposed to be buried in the wreck. Poor fellow! tis a melancholy end. I owe my own preservation to the protection of the Blessed Virgin and the prayers of some powerful advocate.

November 9. Walter was found in the Marion Hospital and still survives although badly injured. I assisted in carrying him from the wreck. Went with Douglas the same day to the hospital yet did not recognize him although he was there all the time. The incidents of this terrible affair I can not speedily forget. The desk, the office and everything about are badly shattered. . . . All is confusion and disorder.

November 26. Panic prevails in the east and is gradually overspreading the whole country in consequence of the Secession movement, now in full progress in the extreme south. A financial revulsion seems imminent. Stocks are down, exchange is up and everything generally unsettled. Doubt and distrust prevail.

December 3. The panic prevails. If anything grows worse and worse.

December 8, 9, 10. Secession panic. Ditto. Ditto.

December 19. Secession still rampant.

January 1, 1861. The New Year greeted us this morning with an unusually pleasant aspect. Would that it were an index of peaceful tidings—a harbinger of restored peace to the nation and prosperity to the individual. Maggie and I together welcomed its advent as the bells tolled the death of 60. God be with it. In the future we will look back to it as marking the "bright particular era" of our existence. Good old 60 farewell.

January 10. Home reports are conflicting in regard to the doings at Charleston. Tis said the Itma conveying reinforcements for Major Anderson was fired into and forced to put out to sea without unloading the troops.

January 11. There is warlike news from Charleston—partly a reiteration of what I alluded to yesterday. A day or two more and the conflict will begin. Where and when to end?

January 12. News from Charleston wears the usual warlike tone. Congress does nothing. Seward made a great speech today.

January 18. No news from the South and affairs in Europe remain in statu quo. King Francis still holds Gaeta. The Pope yet, thank God, at Rome where long may he reign.

January 29. The Secession movement still goes on. Georgia has withdrawn from the Union, and still the cry is "No concession." Petitions and appeals for the Union flood the halls of Congress and—nothing is done.

February 8. The usual twaddle and inertia prevail in Washington. Even the Peace Congress promises to prove of no avail except it be to further show the futility of efforts to save the Union.

February 16. I attended a meeting at Bryant Hall endorsing Compromise and Seward and Kellog for holding out the olive branch.

March 4. The all important epoch in the annals of our country. Lincoln was inaugurated peaceably. His address seems fair and conciliating yet it is even more than ever to be feared that hostilities will follow.

April 12. A notable day. At ten o'clock this A. M. the first hostile shots were fired by the Rebels at Charleston and Fort Sumter formally attacked. Civil war is now inaugurated and who can tell when the end will be—nor how?

April 13. I read first this morning the news related yesterday. Tis startling indeed. Alas that it should be true. There are many rumors and telegrams concerning the attack and defense of Fort Sumter. The Old Glory still waves. We shall have something decisive soon.

Sunday, April 14. The city is wild over the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter to the Carolinians. Everything denotes war. War. Tis on all tongues and in all hearts. Would to God that it could have been averted.

April 15. Still War. President's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to put down rebellion. These are indeed exciting times and we know not where or when the end will come. Chicago is arming. I attended meetings preliminary to the city election tomorrow. Bryan and Rumsey are the nominees for Mayor. Phil Conley runs on the Bryan ticket, which it seems now pretty certain will be defeated.

April 18. News still of War. Virginia tis reported has refused in convention to secede. This is good news.

April 19. An eventful day in American history. The Mass.

[achusetts] troops while passing through Baltimore were attacked by a mob and many killed on both sides. Terror reigns in Baltimore. Worst of all the Capital is in danger. The most intense excitement prevails in town. The war occupies all thoughts. Business literally suspended.

April 20. News still of war and bloodshed. Fighting still in Baltimore and great fears felt for Washington. The city is teeming over with patriotism. Volunteers everywhere. Drilling on all corners. Attended mass meeting at the Wigwam. Took an oath to support and sustain the U. S. government and that of Illinois. Twas a solemn spectacle. The vow of ten thousand and now the climax is coming.

April 21. The war excitement abounds thro the city. Streets thronged with embryo soldiers who present (large numbers of them at least) a very sorry appearance.

April 22. Great anxiety felt for the safety of Washington. Tis feared Jeff Davis has attempted a raid on it and as the defenses are but very weak and inadequate he may have done mischief. Telegraphic communications are interrupted. The city still glowing with military fever. An Irish regiment is now projected and canvassed for.

April 23. Met Captain Walsh who wants me to join the Irish regiment. James A. Mulligan also urged it. Charlie says I can be paymaster if I go. Here's a chance for glory.

April 24. The war news relaxes much of its former intense interest. Washington is conceded to be reasonably safe. Attended meeting this evening at North Market Hall for "Irish regiment." Mulligan spoke well. Much enthusiasm.

April 27. Tonight we go to theatre on invitation of McVicker to receive a flag presented by Sands. The affair was managed very well. Mc. made a clever speech. J[ames] A. M[ulligan] (fresh from the tented field) responded.

April 30. Brigade meetings every evening.

May 11. Dreadful work at St. Louis yesterday. Murderous slaughter of the unarmed citizens by the Dutch troops. Great apprehension felt for the safety of our local banks. A crash is feared.

May 31. The war goes on without so far any battle of note. Judge Douglas remains at the Tremont House in a critical condition. He has been so for weeks and his recovery is now despaired of.

June 3. Douglas is no more. He died at the Tremont House this morning. From what I can learn he was received into the Church before his death and participated in her Holy Rites. This is a mournful day for Illinois—for the nation at large. Her foremost patriot has fallen. All seem affected with grief. Tis a great shock and at such a time comes with terrible effect upon a troubled country.

June 4. Thoughts of Douglas occupy all hearts. Mrs. Douglas was to have taken his remains to the national capital but giving ear to the voice of Illinois, which implores that his remains be left with her, she yields to the general desire. Tis fitting that the state of which he was the great pride and glory should possess and honor his remains. I had a passing glance of the Judge as he lay in state at Bryan Hall this evening.

June 6. I engaged with Dr. Butler to go over to the Bishop's and prepare the address for the papers (which the Bishop delivers tomorrow). This I did.

June 7. Today business is generally suspended and the city shrouded in mourning. Douglas is to be buried today. Dickson and myself went out and secured a couple of horses and rode to the grave. The funeral obsequies were grand, orderly and in every way impressive.

June 18. Met Dr. Butler this morning. He announced his appointment as Chaplain of the Irish Brigade and goes with them in a few days.

July 20. Severe skirmishing at Bull Run today with the advantage, the papers say, on "our" side.

July 22. News arrived today of a terrible and disastrous battle fought yesterday near Manasses. The Federal army was disgracefully routed. Alone of the whole the glorious 69th fought like heroes. So also the brave Zouaves. Be all honor to the brave. Beauregard's star is in the ascendant.

July 23. Public feeling is terribly exercised over the news of the defeat. The report is that Meagher and Corcoran are killed and the whole regiment nearly annihilated. I pray God tis not true.

August 16. Went up to Jesuit Church this evening. Heard Father Smarius on Sin and Its Enormity. Of course I was pleased beyond measure with his discourse.

August 18. Attended Mass at the church of the Holy Family. Heard Father Smarius again on the Punishment of Sin.

High Mass was celebrated with great pomp and such decorum as the Jesuits only can display.\*

August 29. No war news—except that Beauregard is advancing on Washington and matters look now as if he could take it if he wants it.

September 3. Prince Napoleon is in town.

September 13. Lexington invested by Price and a Confederate army. Mulligan and the Brigade with other forces in defense.

September 16. News of the siege of Lexington reached here today. Mulligan and Lexington are on every tongue and according to all accounts he holds out gallantly. Of course the most intense excitement exists in Chicago concerning the probabilities of his holding out.

September 17. We get naught but rumors of the state of affairs at Lexington. The prospects of Mulligan holding out are rather gloomy. Price has a large force. Reinforcements are uncertain and Fremont acts sluggishly or not at all. I hope Jim will come out all right and cover himself with glory. I fear however that he can not hold out long and that his surrender is only a question of time.

September 18. Still only rumors. Vague accounts are given of prodigious fighting at Lexington—unequalled bravery of the Brigade and fearful loss of the rebels but naught definite. Everything so far concerning the fate of the place except the general fact that it is besieged is unrevealed. The inference is that J. A. M. has not been reinforced thus far. Otherwise we should have heard direct from him.

September 19. Lexington still holds out and the reports are that Mulligan is making a right gallant defense. The eyes of the whole country are on him. Fremont announces his promotion as Brigadier General (Acting). I still have but little hope of Jim holding out finally. At any rate he has done enough so far to secure a niche in history. "Mulligan and Lexington."

September 20. As far as heard from Mulligan is all right yet. Affairs on the Potomac remaining unchanged. The im-

\* Throughout these diaries there are many records of visits to the Jesuits and to the Sacred Heart convent on West Taylor street where Mother Gallway was superior. She and my father were warm friends and the last lines she ever wrote were an inscription in a little book, "The Spiritual Combat," given to him on her deathbed. All these notations are omitted as the Civil War news is of so much more general interest.—Mary Onahan Gallery.

pending battle seems as remote as ever. Kentucky is in a tumult but there's nothing decisive there yet. All eyes are turned towards it. Still tis "Lexington and Mulligan." Brave Jim. Long may you live! Drilled tonight at Mat's.

September 21. We have a repetition of rumors concerning the siege and defense of Lexington and many incredible stories are related.

September 22. At early Mass this morning. The Times of this morning gives news of the surrender of Mulligan after a protracted defense of 20 days. He fought gallantly and well—is slightly wounded. Loss of the Brigade not so great as might be anticipated. The news is doubted by many.

September 23. Reported news of yesterday not corroborated this morning. I still think however that the fact of the surrender is in the main correct.

September 24. The surrender of Lexington fully authenticated. Mulligan and all the officers prisoners. The Doctor (Dr. Butler) slightly wounded. Men released and on their way back. I am greatly cast down by the news. Mulligan is the hero of the war now. The details only increase his merit in all eyes.

September 25. Papers full of the Brigade and its glories. No movement at Washington. Kentucky in arms.

November 6. Tonight a party of us held a meeting at the Tremont House to arrange and plan a suitable reception for Mulligan who is expected tomorrow night. Had a telegram from him. There was great spirit and enthusiasm. Telegraphed to J. A. M. "Chicago hopes to greet you Friday night."

November 7. The Mulligan affair is now the local theme, the popular topic. Everything goes on well and promises finely for the ovation. Another meeting tonight. Had to stay down town until a late hour getting things in shape. Met Colonel David Stuart of Bush notoriety. Met also Colonel Tucker who is to be Chief Marshall on the occasion.

November 8. At Tremont House at twelve o'clock with Colonel Tucker. The affair will be a grand one and no mistake. Went with delegation and a big crowd to Joliet to meet the Colonel. We had a great time. He came and is still the same J. A. M. as of yore. Mrs. Mulligan and the Baby alone. Great uproar. General enthusiasm and hilarity. Grand success of demonstration in Chicago. Rode with Mrs. Mulligan and party to Tremont.

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

The stream of Marquette memorials, the surprising volume of which was suggested by an illuminating article in the April MID-AMERICA, gives no indication of running dry. A recent contribution under this head is a mural painting by Edgar S. Cameron, Chicago artist, depicting the landing of Louis Jolliet and Pierre Marquette at the Chicago Portage in September, 1673. It was dedicated April 5, 1931, at the Riverside (Cook County, Illinois) library where it constitutes a panel. Near it is a decorative map by George G. Conner indicating the famous Chicago Portage between the Des Plaines and the Chicago Rivers. This was one of the so-called "keys of the Continent," linking up as it did the two great water-systems of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The first white men known to have used it were Jolliet and Marquette, who are accordingly reckoned its discoverers. Both painting and map were made especially for the library and are the gift of Robert Somerville, president of the Riverside library board.

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Another Marquette memorial of recent date was a float in one of the parades that crowded the streets of Chicago during a civic jubilee-week celebration (May, 1931). This float, which was Loyola University's contribution to the celebration, won the first-prize trophy for the best reproduction of a scene from Chicago history. The parade in which it appeared took place on May 18, the two hundred and fifty-sixth anniversary of Marquette's death. The float "portrayed Marquette and six Indians landing on the shores of Lake Michigan at the present site of Chicago. In a canoe towards the rear of the forty-foot float stood Father Marquette. In the front, around a tepee, were grouped the Indians. The float was particularly noticeable because of its utter simplicity, in sharp contrast with the majority of the floats in the parade which were elaborate creations. Loyola's float took two days to build and cost about two hundred dollars."

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The week March 9-17, 1931, witnessed the bi-centennial celebration of the founding of the city of San Antonio, Texas, and the Franciscan Missions of the locality, La Purisima Concepcion,

San Juan, San Francisco. It was a memorable occasion made outstanding by the participation in it of the highest dignitaries in Church and State. Cardinal Hayes and other members of the American Catholic hierarchy, Governor Sterling of Texas, and Mayor Chambers of San Antonio were among the notables that took an active part in the celebration. Said Mayor Chambers in an official proclamation announcing Bi-Centennial Week and calling upon all citizens to enter into the spirit of the great anniversary: "Behold the mute witness of that romantic, thrilling and heroic past of San Antonio and her environs: the Spanish Governor's Palace recently restored by an appreciative citizenry, which will be rededicated during this celebration; our old San Fernando Cathedral, in whose shadow solemn and inspiring religious functions will take place and whose bells have announced the messages of victory and peace to a grateful citizenry throughout our long history; the venerable Franciscan Missions whose age stained walls proclaim the faith and the vision of the brownclad Padres who brought Christianity and civilization to Texas; and finally our Alamo, cradle of Texas liberty, whose walls were consecrated with the blood of our heroic patriots. These all proclaim the romance and heroism of San Antonio's storied past."

Both the civic and religious life of the historic Texas city run back for their ultimate source to the missionary zeal of the devoted friars who made of the vast Texas reaches a conquest of their own for the cause of civilization and the Church.

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MID-AMERICA called attention in its preceding issue (April, 1931) to the recently published monumental work of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton on the Anza expeditions that led to the founding of San Francisco. Here it takes pleasure in noting another voluminous historical project of high rank which is now under way. This is the *Southwest Historical Series*, a collection of documents hitherto unpublished or inaccessible depicting social and economic conditions in the Southwest during the nineteenth century. The series, which is being edited in its entirety by Dr. Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, St. Louis, has for publisher the Arthur H. Clarke Company, formerly of Cleveland, now of Glendale, California. The initial volume, James Josiah Webb's *Adventures on the Santa Fé Trail*, recently off

the press, reaches a high level of scholarly editorial treatment. Dr. Bieber's intimate acquaintance in all its phases with the general background of Southwest history during the frontier period and with the bibliographical resources available for study in this field particularly qualify him to edit a series such as the present with success. It is contemplated to complete publication within five or six years. All in all, the finished series will take rank with such well known documentary collections as Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations* and *Western Travels* and Robertson's *Phillipine Documents*.

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Agnes Laut in her recently issued *Cadillac*, which is reviewed in the present number of MID-AMERICA, sees Saint Vallier, the second bishop of Quebec, as a disciple of Loyola. "Cadillac had little sympathy and still less in common with the strict rule of the Jesuit Saint Vallier." Of course Jean-Baptiste de Saint Vallier was in point of fact a diocesan or secular clergyman and not a member of the Society of Jesus. The error in Miss Laut's book is not a mere *lapsus calami* or casual inaccuracy, of a kind with those from which even the most meticulous of historians are not immune; it is symptomatic of the general haze of inexactitude and misconception into which she drifts whenever she attempts to explain the part played by the Jesuit missionaries in her story. Biography, which is nothing else than the history of an individual, is bound by the same laws which regulate or are supposed to regulate the compilation of history and among these laws none is more outstanding than the one which requires, not necessarily an unsympathetic, but at any rate an unpartisan and objective attitude towards the subject in hand.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Trans-Mississippi West: Papers Read at a Conference Held at the University of Colorado, June 18-June 21, 1929.* Edited by James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz. Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930, pp. 366, \$2.00.

The University of Colorado and Professor James F. Willard are to be congratulated for making possible this pioneer conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West. Bringing together the leading specialists in the field, the conference performed a service of both local and national significance. We can heartily agree with Professor Willard that "similar meetings in other districts would do much to supplement the activities of the American Historical Association, and would greatly aid state and more purely local historical societies in their work."

Sixteen papers were presented at this conference. They dealt with a variety of important subjects, but only ten can be mentioned here. Of these, one was a synthesis, three involved problems of interpretation or emphasis, and six were intensive investigations of specific subjects.

The synthesis, given by the leading scholar in the field, was Herbert E. Bolton's "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands." Based upon many years of extensive research, Professor Bolton described, in clear and vigorous language, the origin and importance of the old Spanish Borderlands, which were the fusing place of two streams of European civilization. He pointed out that, except for New Mexico, Spanish colonization in the northern borderlands was primarily defensive in its origin. Slender though these Spanish outposts were, they have left a permanent impress upon a large part of what is now the United States.

The three papers that involved problems of interpretation or emphasis were: Frederic L. Paxson's "Finance and the Frontier," Eugene C. Barker's "On the Historiography of American Territorial Expansion," and Walter P. Webb's "The Great Plains and the Industrial Revolution." Professor Paxson gave an excellent presentation of the hitherto unworked field of finance and its relation to frontier history. The story of how the debtor frontiersman dug into the soil, made a living for himself and family, and finally accumulated sufficient capital to meet his

financial obligations, is still untold and is of tremendous interest to the historian of society. Professor Barker presented some pertinent reflections, based upon his researches, on the motives and methods which have operated in our acquisition of the West. He demonstrated that certain psychological attitudes, such as a sympathy for the weak and unfortunate, a desire to write cleverly, a tendency to discredit American officials, and a naive assumption that foreign diplomats have always told the truth, were responsible for much misapprehension of this phase of western history. As a remedy Professor Barker suggested that historians "measure the actions of the American government by the same practical standards of national usage which we apply to other peoples and other governments, and not by the ideal standards of an international Utopia." Professor Webb offered an entirely new interpretation of the delayed settlement of the Great Plains. When the advancing frontier reached the Great Plains, it found the old technique of pioneering altogether inadequate, and was forced to await the invention of new tools before occupying this vast empire. To support his contention, Professor Webb described the introduction and use of the "six-shooter," barbed wire, the windmill, and new farming implements.

Six papers represented intensive investigations of specific subjects: Gilbert J. Garraghan's "Nicolas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties," John C. Parish's "By Sea to California," Colin B. Goodykoontz's "Protestant Home Missions and Education in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1835-1860," LeRoy R. Hafen's "Hand Cart Migration Across the Plains," Louis Pelzer's "Trails of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Frontier," and Archer B. Hulbert's "Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman." Utilizing unpublished sources in places as widely apart as St. Louis, Montreal, and Rome, Father Garraghan gave an excellent description of the missionary activities of Nicolas Point, who labored among the Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain region between 1841 and 1847. Father Garraghan stressed Point's career in what is now eastern Montana, and related how this famous missionary lived with the Indians, shared their discomforts, followed them about in their periodical hunts, "and, in fine, gave himself up to spend and be spent in ministering to their needs." Father Point, and not Father de Smet, was the typical Jesuit missionary in the Rocky Mountain

field in the forties. Professor Parish delved among old newspapers and unpublished manuscripts to obtain material for his interesting story of the "sea trails" to California in 1849. He stated that the fatalities of the sea journey were far less than those of the overland trek, but that traveling by ship left the individual with soft muscles and manifestly unprepared for the rigors of mining life. He also asserted that the sea-goers were the first argonauts to leave "the States" for California and that they started considerably earlier than the overland emigrants; but, in the opinion of the reviewer, the latter statement must be modified, for overland emigrants left Texas for the gold fields as early as January, 1849. Professor Goodykoontz's paper dealt with certain phases of New England's interest in education and religion in the West during the quarter century preceding the Civil War. Though the principal reason for Protestant missionary activity in the West was religious, a belief in the manifest destiny of the Protestant faith and in the existence of bad moral and social conditions among the western pioneers, were additional motives. Protestant missionaries likewise established colleges and furnished competent teachers for the elementary schools. Dr. Hafen, in discussing the short-lived use of hand carts by emigrants traversing the prairies, declared that Brigham Young suggested this method of transportation for the benefit of the poorer classes of Mormons, and that ten hand cart companies crossed the plains to Utah between 1856 and 1860. Dr. Hafen made no mention of the use of hand carts by Pike's Peakers. Professor Pelzer assembled very important material relating to cattle on the frontier, and described the profits of cattle driving, the experiences of individual drovers, and the statistics of the cattle drives. But the main subject of his paper, cattle trails, was treated only incidentally and at times inaccurately. Professor Hulbert based his paper on some hitherto unused sources relating to Marcus Whitman.

Taken as a whole, the papers read at the conference maintained a high standard of excellence. They showed what progress had been made in recent years in the study of the Trans-Mississippi West. It is to be hoped that the success of this conference will lead to others of a similar nature.

RALPH P. BIEBER, PH. D.

Washington University  
St. Louis, Mo.

*Stout Cortez. A Biography of the Spanish Conquest.* By Henry Morton Robinson. The Century Co., New York, pp. 347.

A gripping, glamorous, romantic, and not altogether inaccurate account of the life of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the Spanish conquistadors, this biography should appeal to the average reader. No episode in American history can compare with the dramatic and heroic quality, epic if you please, of Hernando Cortez and the little band of determined and fearless men that single-handed, in defiance of the authority of the treacherous governor of Cuba who had sent them, undertook to conquer the mighty empire of the Aztecs for their own personal gain and glory.

On the whole the author is enthusiastically sympathetic with the bold adventurer and his companions and the reader experiences the thrill of conquest, the exhilaration of hand to hand conflict, the heart pangs of thwarted ambition, and the encircling gloom of ingratitude and disillusion that slowly but inexorably close about the hero in the last years of his life. Not only does the character of Cortez stand out. In sharp contrast to his boundless resourcefulness and courage stands the pathetic figure of the Aztec emperor Montezuma, who like a Hamlet of the new world, hesitates, doubts, wavers, and finally falls a pitiful victim to his own indecision. The character of the virile defender of Mexico City after the death of the unfortunate emperor, Cuauhtemoc, is vividly portrayed and true admiration for his noble and determined stand against the Spaniards is expressed.

In simple yet pleasing style, with vigor and dash to suit the stirring episodes depicted, the story of the life of this singular man and his companions is told with a vividness that falls short of reality. There is no new fact brought out, no attempt to utilize recent material. The author has contributed nothing from the point of view of scholarship to the studies of the life of Cortez. On the whole the traditional accounts of Bancroft and Prescott are followed closely and the book makes no pretense of being a scholarly study. It is a popular restatement, ably and pleasingly put together, of the traditional life of one of the most picturesque figures in the history of America. There is not a single footnote to indicate the sources used. Some of the quotations can be traced directly to Bernal Diaz del Castillo, that strong-armed companion of Cortez who added to his military prowess the gift of a good story teller; others are more

difficult to identify. Only one of the illustrations used in the book—and there are a good many, well chosen—gives the source from which it is taken. All the illustrations are reproduced as a courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.

Though the biography cannot be called a scholarly piece of work and though it adds nothing to the available information on this remarkable conqueror, administrator, and benefactor of Indian Mexico, still it is a welcomed addition to our popular historical literature. The average person will read it with pleasure and profit, for it cannot fail to arouse the interest of even the most indifferent reader.

C. E. CASTANEDA, PH. D.

Latin American Librarian  
University of Texas

*Cadillac*. By Agnes C. Laut. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1931,  
pp. 298, illustrations, maps.

This book is, according to the author, the first biography of Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, founder of Detroit and one of the early governors of Louisiana. Information about Cadillac's career has been both sparse and contradictory, the latter perhaps partly due to the fact that he appears to have been prone to incur the enmity of many of his contemporaries. In the explanatory chapter at the beginning of her narrative, the author says: "Cadillac would not mold to any hand. He would neither bend nor break, and kept his inner self hidden as under an iron mask from all except his family, Louis XIV and Frontenac." At this point it is interesting to note what another writer says of Cadillac. Bishop Schlarman in his *From Quebec to New Orleans* (1929), says: "At Michillimackinac and Detroit he [Cadillac] had quarrels with the Jesuits, chiefly because of their opposition to the brandy trade with the Indians. Vaudreuil and Raudot, governor and intendant, respectively, of Canada, accused him of 'looking out for himself first . . .' and of 'being equally hated by the troops, by the inhabitants, and by the savages.'"

Whatever may have been the faults of Cadillac's disposition, he undoubtedly played an important part in the development of New France. His enduring friendship with the strong-willed and hot-headed Frontenac, and his loyalty to Louis XIV were dominant traits of his character.

Born at St. Nicolas de la Grave, France, in 1658, Cadillac was a cadet in the French army by 1677. In 1683 he was sent to America by Louis XIV. In 1687 he married Thérèse Guyon, whom he had probably met in Port Royal. Madame Cadillac seems to have helped him in his career throughout by her practicality and her co-operation in all his projects.

After several years at Mackinac Cadillac decided that the site where the city of Detroit now stands was of strategic importance in the control of the fur trade with the Indians, and he finally carried out his project of establishing there a fort, which he named Pontchartrain. Probably the happiest years of his life were spent there, laying the foundation of a prosperous city, Detroit. If he hoped to spend the remainder of his life there, he was doomed to disappointment. Greater still would have been his sorrow if he could have foreseen that all the country he helped to develop for France was first to pass into English hands and later to become part of a great new nation undreamed of in his day.

Cadillac's career seems to divide naturally into two parts. In the first he progressed steadily toward the attainment of his ambition, the founding of Pontchartrain. This might be called the high point of his career. His appointment as governor of Louisiana, a position which he unwillingly took in 1712, was a sharp break in his life. After his dismissal from the governorship in 1717 he returned to France, where he was caught "in the vortex of the Mississippi Bubble" and was sent to the Bastile. The remaining years of his life after his release from prison were spent near Castelsarrasin, where he died in 1730.

The portions of the book dealing with Detroit give a definite idea of Cadillac's purposes and actions; but the parts relating to his life in Louisiana, and the causes of his dismissal from the governorship are but vaguely defined. The story of Juchereau de St. Denis and some of the stories about Bienville are interesting in themselves, but distract attention from the central figure, Cadillac, and tend to obscure the clearness of the narrative.

The illustrations are noteworthy, some being reproductions of paintings in the National Gallery of Canada. The end papers are reproductions of maps of Louisiana, prepared either by Cadillac himself, or by the engineer, De Lery, under Cadillac's direction, according to the author's statement.

The book is somewhat marred by slovenliness of style. Instances are: "Death and taxes have to be paid"; "A light might be seen in some towers where Jesuit scholars were peering their eyes out over some old Latin tome"; or the rather complicated statement: "When Old France thought to dictate all prices from beaver bought to calico sold, she invited the very same rebellion which confronted the defeated England over a tea-tax in Boston." Such phrases give the impression that the writing was done hurriedly or carelessly. The sources from which the author drew her information are mentioned in the foreword.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oak Park, Illinois

*The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society, 1930-1931,*  
v. XXIX. Published by the Society, New York, 1931, pp. 344.

This annual volume of the American Irish Historical Society is divided into five sections, the reports of officers and committees, the annual banquet, the historical papers, the necrology and the membership roll. In the report of one of the officials, James McGurrin, the secretary-general, is found this interesting statement: "Since our last General Meeting this Society has secured no less than 715 new members, an achievement never exceeded before." At the thirty-third annual banquet held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, January 31, 1931, noteworthy addresses were delivered by John Kenlon, the president-general, Clare G. Fenerty and John P. O'Brien. These three presentations were not strictly historical but rather eulogistic in spirit and expression.

The historical papers comprise twenty short essays on various Irish phases of American history. In his "The First Irishmen in America," R. J. Kelly presents a fine study on the two Irishmen who accompanied Columbus on his first voyage to the New World. "Irish Art" is the subject of an essay by Mary Manahan. A very enlightening article, "Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee," is contributed by Humphrey Desmond. Margaret McCormack writes interestingly of James Napper Tandy, one of the United Irishmen, about whom were written the well-known lines:

"O! I met with Napper Tandy  
And he took me by the hand,

And he said, 'How's poor old Ireland,  
And how does she stand.'"

George F. O'Dwyer reveals some results of his research in the Old Calvary Cemetery, Springfield, Massachusetts, the Old Cabotsville Cemetery, Chicopee, Massachusetts, 1840-1850, and St. Paul's Catholic Cemetery, Blackstone, Massachusetts, indicating that much more work can be done in this source of early Irish-American history. Cornelius Harnett, a prominent figure in the history of North Carolina, is the subject of an essay by John G. Coyle. William M. Sweeney contributes a brief article on Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, a major-general in the Confederate army, who was born in Cork, Ireland. Maryland is remembered in a brief article on John Van Lear McMahon, who played an important part in nineteenth century Maryland. A second contribution by George F. O'Dwyer, "Some Massachusetts Wills," is taken from the Probate Records of Suffolk and Worcester counties. "The Mullanphys of St. Louis" is the subject of an essay by Francis X. Stephens, Jr. This article throws no new light on the Mullanphy family. No bibliography or references for direct quotations accompany the presentation.

A remarkable piece of work is contributed by Charles Montague Early in "Passenger Lists" obtained from *The Shamrock or Irish Chronicle* for 1815-1816. The list includes 3,150 names of persons "from whom are descended perhaps 230,000 people living today." According to the writer "no less than seventy-two vessels are mentioned as having arrived at various American ports, mainly New York; from certain foreign ports, mainly Irish, with passengers having Irish names" within the year beginning September, 1815. Other contributors are Marian Sands, J. Havergal Sheppard, Christopher Colles, William Montgomery Sweeny, Daniel E. McCarthy, Arline Scully, Francis Hackett and Thomas Ollive Mabbott.

The historical papers are extremely brief, with two or three exceptions, and lack proper footnote citations and indication of sources, though in these last two aspects an improvement is noted over the volume for the preceding year.

The necrology contains the names of William Howard Taft, Bishop Louis J. O'Leary, James D. Phelan and seventy-seven other persons. The membership list shows that there are at present 3,001 members including 2,802 annual members, one hundred and ninety-six life members and three honorary mem-

bers. An index of subjects and an index of persons complete the volume.

GEORGE FRANCIS DONOVAN, PH. D.

Webster College  
Webster Groves, Mo.

*The Story of the Sisters of Mercy in Mississippi.* By Reverend Mother M. Bernard McGuire. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, \$3.00.

There is a certain fascination in this account of the Sisters of Mercy in the State of Mississippi, written so modestly, yet so wisely, and withal so simply. The delightful conversational style carries you from one period to another without effort. By her simple manner of narrating little incidents so interestingly human, Mother Bernard makes you feel as if you were sitting with the Sisters in a circle around her listening to her gentle voice telling you of each Sister or priest. Her praise of their work and their individual characters is the reflection of her own cultured mind.

The trials and hardships of war and yellow fever epidemics through which those devoted pioneer nuns passed could only be met by the strong faith which animated them and the wise direction of their superiors. In reading this volume one begins to realize the training necessary to develop the efficiency shown in their system of intelligent management. Possibly few, save the Sisters alone, know of the remarkable grasp of economic problems possessed by these women whose lives were apparently shielded from want and the miseries of the less fortunate of society.

As educators these Sisters were eminently capable and well chosen, but their labors and influence had a far wider reach. Their intelligent assistance to the Doctors during the frightful epidemics of yellow fever, their message of helpfulness to the sufferers, their unselfish devotion to the poor and humble, both white and colored, arouse our deepest admiration for this courageous band of workers whose gentle hands lifted many burdens from fainting shoulders, and reanimated the virtues of faith, hope, and charity in countless faltering souls.

The book has an added interest for the future Catholic historian for it tells incidentally of the progress of the Catholic Church in the state of Mississippi. While the history of the

Sisters of Mercy in other states of the Union may be similar in many respects to that of the Sisters of Mississippi, those of Mississippi are more fortunate in having theirs left to posterity by one so gifted as Mother Bernard.

JAMES J. O'BAIEN, S. J.

Loyola University  
New Orleans, La.

*Isabella of Spain, the Last Crusader.* By William Thomas Walsh. Robert M. McBride and Company, New York, 1931, pp. xix+515, \$5.00.

The life and times of Queen Isabella of Spain will have forever, so it seems, a fascination for the historian and the teller of tales. For years this period of Spanish history has been tempting ground for investigation and the work is still going on unabated. From time to time there appears a work in the field of more than ordinary merit—such a book is *Isabella of Spain*. Viewed from any angle it is different from the general run of books one will find in a list of contemporary biographies. It is an oasis in the desert of our present day mudslinging biography; it is, as the author intended that it should be, not an interpretation of the period or its movements; it is the history of a great Queen told with the conception of a poet, the art of a novelist, and the perspective of a historian. However, one must add that the poet and the novelist in the author seem, in some measure at least, to outrank the historian.

"Isabella was born to the purple in no ordinary sense," the author asserts in his opening sentence and thenceforward he lets the course of events shape the story, which the casual reader will find interesting. To the person with a knowledge of the era it will be doubly so; but to the student searching for facts it will prove of mediocre value for the author is not the master of his appended notes that he is of his material; these are a little too indefinite to be of much aid to the student. The story teller reaches the height of his glory in the chapter dealing with the capture and defense of Alhama (p. 232 ff.). Then it is that the reader forgets the medium of the printed page as the pageant of late fifteenth century warfare moves swiftly into action. On the whole it is an excellent biography of a woman who lived through and influenced greatly one of the most crucial phases of Spain's history. The influence of things spiritual upon

the Queen who deserves to be called "America's godmother" is plainly brought out and the portrait is one which will not soon be forgotten.

The book is illustrated, by far the most interesting cuts being from contemporary paintings and tapestries. It is enriched greatly by the front and back end papers, which are from a group of old Burgundian tapestries. The selected bibliography which follows the sketch map of the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century explains to a large extent the author's grasp of the material which he marshals on his pages.

HAROLD E. YOUNG, M. A.

St. Louis University  
St. Louis, Mo.

*Hebrewisms of West Africa—From Nile to Niger with the Jews.*  
By Joseph J. Williams, S. J. New York, The Dial Press, 1930,  
pp. xii+443.

We have here a critical investigation of the possible origin of Hebrew cultural elements found among certain West African tribes, notably among the Ashanti, from whom the negroes of Jamaica are descended. Apparent Hebraic words and customs have been frequently discovered to exist by missionaries and travellers among many savage races in all quarters of the world; but it is one thing to detect a similarity and quite another to prove that there is a real connection between existing tribal practices and Jewish customs which they are supposed to perpetuate. The task of establishing such a connection Father Williams has carried out with astonishing thoroughness by accumulating a mass of evidence that will convince most readers that the similarity of certain Ashanti customs with well known Hebrew rites and abuses described in the Old Testament are not mere coincidences.

More than thirty Hebrewisms existing among the Ashanti are described. They are words or practices that are distinctly Jewish, such as the remarkable similarity of the Ashanti Yame and the Hebrew Yahweh, the Sabbath rest, the Levirate marriages, uncleanness after childbirth, purification ceremonies, the duodecimal division of tribes into families, etc., etc. Can a plausible reason be given for these similarities?

In answering this question Father Williams brings forward all the available evidence that shows what influence Jews have

had on African tribes. It is a most interesting series of quotations relating to African tribal history and customs, movements and events, garnered from all manner of sources, ancient and modern: from geographers and historians, travellers and missionaries, archaeologists and anthropologists. Facts of African history that make us gape with wonder, fascinating glimpses of Jewish enterprise and achievement are recounted briefly—a Jewish Kingdom at Ghana, south of the Sahara, Jewish colonies along the whole northern coast, Jewish commercial centres in the heart of the desert, black tribes that have been Judaized to such an extent as to become devotees of the liberal arts and who collected a library of sixteen hundred tomes. One chapter tells us briefly the history and customs of the Fallashas, a Jewish tribe that has inhabited Abyssinia from time immemorial, who pride themselves on being the descendants of settlers who came to that country in the days of King Solomon; in fact they claim as their founder a son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, called Menilek. Another chapter informs us that recent tombstones found near the site of ancient Carthage prove that the Jewish community of that famous old city was both large and influential in the time of Hannibal; and long before the Christian era many Jewish commercial towns existed in Cyrene, Ethiopia, Libya, Tarshish and Morocco. When these settlements were absorbed or destroyed by Roman, Byzantine and Moslem forces, the Jews who would not give up their faith took refuge in the desert, where they founded new settlements. There is evidence that many Berber tribes were converted to Judaism, and other African nations were controlled or directed by Jews. Hence the cultural and civilizing influence of the Hebrews in Northern Africa was very considerable at various periods in history, as the author clearly shows by numerous quotations from reliable sources.

Rightly, however, does Father Williams set aside these sources of influence to account for the Hebrewisms found among the Ashanti. The Jewish colonists of Northern Africa passed through various stages of Hellenic culture and were permeated with the traditional spirit of the Scribes and Pharisees, whereas the specific customs under investigation point to pre-exilic rites and practices. Hence they must be traced back to another source. This is found in the Hebrew military settlements near the first cataract of the Nile. As early as 525 B. C. a Jewish

community existed on the Island of Elephantine, which had its Temple where Yahweh was worshipped under the name of Yahu. Probably around the year 400 B. C. this colony was destroyed by the Egyptians, and the supposition is that the Jews retreated further up the Nile. Later on there was a constant movement up the Nile of other Jewish refugees and traders, and various centres of Jewish culture must have been established in the heart of Africa. Of this we are not certain, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the supposition. The author supposes that some such colonists by intermarriage with the native tribes started the Songhois nation, which later on became the greatest Empire in Africa. The Songhois gradually moved westward, from the Nile to Lake Tchad, and thence to the Niger. A large section of this nation later embraced Mohammedanism, but certain tribes clung tenaciously to their ancient faith. From the Songhois, therefore, the author thinks the Ashanti tribes derived their Hebrewisms.

The explanation is ingenious and logical. It is not set forth as certain, but the evidence presented makes it seem very plausible. The author deserves the thanks of all students of history for this accumulation of material on African tribal customs and Jewish colonial enterprise in Africa, which is presented scientifically with due reference to the sources and copious footnotes, a very extensive bibliography and a splendid index. The average reader will find the book informative and interesting, the student of Jewish history will look upon it as an invaluable aid both to profitable reading and to casual reference.

HENRY WILLMERING, S. J.

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*Brother Dutton Memoirs.* Edited by Howard D. Case. The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., Honolulu, 1931, pp. 242.

In *Brother Dutton Memoirs* unfolds the story of a life whose beginning and end were equally removed in time and place. It is a newspaperman's story of another man's life, which almost any moment of its eighty-eight years would have made front page copy. "Ira B. Dutton was born at Stowe, Vermont, on April 27, 1843," the author tells us in Chap. III after having related briefly the history of the island of Molokai and its development as a leper colony. From that day on until he was

received into the Catholic Church in 1883 his life was a wandering one. He attended the "Old Academy" at Janesville, Wisconsin, whither his family had removed; he attended Milton Academy and later Milton College. He was by turn a clerk in a bookstore, bookbinder, and printer before he was through his teens. It was during this period that he "signed up" with the Janesville Zouave Corps, which later became Company B of the 13th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, a regiment which saw service in Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas during the course of the Civil War. The book is interspersed here and there with references to this period of his life and it is interesting to note that Ira B. Dutton began at the bottom, the kicking end of a rifle, and was mustered out a captain at the end of the War. In 1884 he withdrew from the Government service and entered shortly thereafter the Trappist monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky, where he remained for twenty months, leaving because he felt that in the quiet solitude of that Order he could not accomplish as much for his fellowmen as he desired to accomplish. On the morning of July 29, 1886, between the reflecting blue of the Hawaiian sea and the green hills of Molokai a stranger spoke to Father Damien, already famous for his mission to the poor outcasts of society:

"I am Joseph Dutton, a lay brother" . . . "and I have come here to help you carry on your good work." . . .

"I need you. Jump up here alongside of me and we will ride over to the settlement."

That was Joseph Dutton's initiation to Molokai and the beginning of his forty-four years of uninterrupted service to mankind, which ended with his death, March 26, 1931.

The book is well and understandingly edited by one who has caught between covers which partake somewhat of the green verdure of the islands from whose sea-washed shores they have issued, something of the spiritual purpose and self-sacrifice that played so great a part in determining Brother Dutton's life. It has been compiled from the latter's correspondence with his expressed permission and is supplemented by numerous photographs used by the special permission of the Territory of Hawaii. The editor has supplied an interesting treatise on a day spent on the island while the chapter dealing with the leprosy situation in Hawaii should prove worthwhile to those interested from a medical point of view.

Brother Dutton School, Beloit, Wisconsin, has the United States' agency for the book.

HAROLD E. YOUNG, M. A.

St. Louis University  
St. Louis, Mo.

*The Hogan Schism and Trustee Troubles in St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, 1820-1829.* By Francis E. Tourscher, O. S. A. Philadelphia, The Peter Reilly Company, 1930, pp. xxii+234.

Father Tourscher's volume recounts the history of one of the celebrated cases in the unhappy series of agitations collectively known as the Trustee Troubles. Commencing shortly after the close of the American Revolution and continuing well into the middle of the last century, small groups of malcontents in New York, Charleston, Baltimore, New Orleans, to mention but a few localities, carried on deliberate and often long continued campaigns of resistance to episcopal authority and to the canonically appointed pastors of their respective churches. All too often these willful groups were aided and abetted by the schemings of unworthy clerics whose patronage of the elements of discontent aided the propagation and continuance of what probably constituted the gravest internal menace that ever afflicted the Church in the United States.

Philadelphia had been the seat of similar troubles for some years previous to the time when the Rev. William Hogan, a priest of the diocese of Limerick, in Ireland, took up his pastoral duties at Saint Mary's Church in that city in April, 1820. The events associated with Hogan's subsequent career in Philadelphia form the major portion of the present volume.

The author has made a careful and searching effort to present a sober and connected narrative of the unhappy controversy. That he has succeeded to a degree surpassing that of the other authors who have essayed to narrate the history of the schism, few will deny. Evidently the product of a wide and careful study of pertinent source material, the volume has been rendered doubly useful to the student of the development of canonical legislation in the American Church by the inclusion of many of the major documents of the controversy.

Unfortunately the documentation betrays at times a departure from the now generally accepted norms of presentation for works of historical research. The citation of authorities is

not always consistent in form, and at times leaves much to be desired. The volume also lacks a bibliography or critical essay on the sources, a serious handicap to the reader or student who might wish to study the Hogan Schism in relation to the trustee troubles in the country generally. A variation in the size of type used, especially in the case of documents reproduced, would have added to the appearance of the page, in addition to lending emphasis to the class of material used.

Yet the evident merits of the work greatly overbalance these defects. The author has evinced a judicial temper in narrating the conduct of individuals whose activities, viewed in the long perspective of a hundred years, offers little ground for commendation. That both sides to the controversy overstepped at times the bounds of good judgment in the war of pamphlets, is rightly admitted by Father Tourscher.

The reader who may wish to supplement Father Tourscher's volume by a study of Trusteeism in other parts of the country will do well to commence with the study of the problem to be found in the first volume of Doctor Zwierlein's *Life and Times of Bishop McQuaid*, and to follow with Doctor Guilday's *Life and Times of John Carroll*, *Life and Times of John England*, and *The Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1822*, from which he may pass on to the mass of material to be found in the older works on the history of the Catholic Church in the United States, and in the publications of the various Catholic historical societies.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR, M. A.

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*The John Askin Papers (Vol. II, 1796-1820).* Edited by Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-editor the Burton Historical Collection. Published by the Detroit Library Commission, 1931, pp. 829.

The first volume of the John Askin Papers was published some four years ago. The present volume completes the publication of these impressive first-hand materials for the pioneer history of Detroit and the territory commercially dependent upon it. John Askin (1734-1815) was a native of Ireland who came to America to serve in the Seven Year's War, remaining there to engage in private trade and official employment first in Mackinac and then (1780) in Detroit, where he remained until 1802. He then changed his residence to what is now Walkerville

on the south side of the Detroit River, being bent on remaining a subject of Great Britain, to whose interests he was loyally and uninterruptedly attached until his death. His papers, comprising a vast range of correspondence and other documents largely of a business nature, were acquired by Clarence M. Burton of Detroit and now constitute one of the most valuable documentary groups of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. Askin's activities as revealed in his multifarious papers were complex and touched the most diverse phases of the contemporary life of which he was a part. Authentic and interesting data for economic, social, political and, to some extent, cultural conditions in Detroit and other localities of the Old Northwest during the period 1747-1820 literally swarm in this unique documentary collection. In the words of the editor of the volume before us the papers illustrate such activities of Askin's as: "shipping, Indian trade, land titles and speculation, salt and whisky manufactures, farming methods, and the introduction of new crops. They illustrate also almost every phase of local official and social life—the militia administration, disputes over precedence in the militia establishment and in church dealings with the provincial government of Upper Canada and with the American government at Detroit, the establishment of and support of schoolmaster and missionaries, statesmanlike discussions of political conditions in England and interesting reports concerning the military outlook of the Napoleonic period."

Dr. Milo M. Quaife, who has taken in hand the task of preparing for publication selected papers from the Askin collection, has discharged the business well, as one would expect from so competent a scholar in the field of Western history. To edit a volume, however, of the proportions of the one before us, enriching it on almost every page with footnotes which supplement the text with illuminating data, was not a task to be attempted singlehanded; the editor in his introduction makes grateful contribution to his collaborators, in particular, to Mrs. L. Oughtred Woltz for translation of the French documents, to his secretaries, Ethel Armstrong and Muriel Bennett, and to Louise Rau, who in the capacity of associate-editor made a notable contribution to the process of publication.

The editor and his associates are to be congratulated on the concrete result of their labors. The volume reaches a high level of editorial excellence and is an object-lesson in the sympathetic

insight and accuracy of detail which it is to be hoped will prevail more and more in the publishing of original texts in Western history. From the printer's viewpoint, too, the volume is a superior thing,—excellent paper, ample margins, distinguished type, solid and impressive binding.

The reviewer has only one regret to register and that is that a list of the documents in successive order according to the captions they bear in the body of the book has not been included. Obviously the index, which is skillfully made, answers for most practical needs the purpose of such a list; but the investigator who is interested in some definite line of research is greatly helped by the convenience of a formal table of contents, especially in such a bulky volume as the present. One other detail. Father Edmund Burke, who went to the West in 1794, settled not in Detroit (p. 32) but at Raisin River (now Monroe, Mich.) whence he frequently made trips to Detroit though he does not appear actually to have resided there.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

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*Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes.* By Sister Mary Salesia Godecker, O. S. B., Ph. D., Convent Immaculate Conception, Ferdinand, Indiana. With a Preface by his Excellency, the Right Reverend Joseph Chartrand, D. D., Bishop of Indianapolis. Published by St. Meinrad Historical Essays, St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931, pp. xlivi+441, \$4.00.

Sister Salesia's portrayal of Bishop Bruté is a distinct contribution to the ever growing historiography of Catholic origins in the United States. Two things among others go to the making of a successful biography: an engaging subject and adequate authentic source-material on which to work. The present biography meets these conditions admirably. The personality of the first bishop of Vincennes is one of inevitable interest and charm. Ascetic, literateur, educator, and a tireless worker in the ministry, he stands out a unique and appealing figure in the epic story of nascent American Catholicism. As to material for her task Sister Salesia would appear to have exhausted the possibilities in this direction. No unpublished source of value seems to have escaped her in the patient and prolonged research which she undertook in European and American archives. Even the

Bruté family papers in Rennes have been laid under contribution. But Bruté's revealing correspondence, enormous in extent, for he was a most prolific letter writer, has been especially drawn upon. The result is an excellently documented and skillfully executed piece of work that fills a long standing gap in American biography. Regret has often been expressed that no adequate portrayal of Bishop Bruté has ever been given to the world despite the wealth of documentary material for the purpose that lay to hand. It has been left to Sister Salesia to attempt the task and succeed, thereby rendering a service to American church history that makes us all her debtors.

Although only five of Bruté's sixty years of life were spent in Indiana, two-thirds of the volume is taken up with this period, the most important historically in his career. Indiana, when Bruté went there in 1834 to be installed as bishop in the historic town which men of his race had built on the banks of the Wabash, was pretty much of a frontier section of the country. In Catholic development it was likewise backward, something of a neglected area surrounded by regions that were taking lead of it in the growing process of church organization in the West. Cincinnati had been erected as a diocese in 1821, St. Louis, in 1826, and Detroit, in 1833. Now it was Vincennes's turn to receive one of those pioneer western bishops whose achievements are a chapter of glory in the story of Catholic beginnings in the United States.

Brute's activities during the five years he spent in Indiana were amazing, particularly in view of the feeble state of health in which he had to do it all. Among the reasons urged by him for being spared the dignity of the mitre was the difficulty he experienced in travelling, especially on horseback. Still, once he had in a spirit of sheer obedience and submission to the Divine Will accepted the post of missionary-bishop, he would suffer no physical handicap of whatever sort to stand in the way of his duty to the diocese. Visitation and confirmation trips of the most discomforting kind were performed with a zeal and energy that were possible only in a man of his high spiritual purpose and self-effacing devotion to duty. This phase of Bruté's life has been portrayed by Sister Salesia with a detail and an impressiveness which its importance justifies. At the same time the interior devotional life of the saintly bishop has been duly stressed as the unyielding solid rock on which the whole struc-

ture of his absorbing external activities was reared. It is not unlikely that Simon Bruté de Rémur may some day be a candidate for the honors of the altar.

Sister Salesia is generous in laying before her readers hitherto unpublished letters of the most compelling interest. Newman wrote that a man's personality is best revealed in his correspondence and it is accordingly on such material that biography is most satisfactorily based. The wide range of archival material which went into the production of the present work is indicated in the admirable survey of Bruté biographical sources which introduces it. It may be pointed out, a detail which has escaped mention in this biography, that Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, though at first recommending to the Holy See the appointment of Bruté to the see of Vincennes, later withdrew his recommendation in favor of Father Enoch Fenwick of Georgetown College, being led apparently to alter his choice by the remarkable letter which Bruté addressed to him and which Sister Salesia has reproduced (pp. 207-211). As a piece of keen, penetrating, merciless self-analysis this letter is perhaps not inferior to any other document of a similar tenor in the whole range of secular literature.

The book is got out in attractive form by St. Meinrad's Abbey Press, which is to be congratulated on this successful venture into the publisher's field. Reproductions of pen-and-ink sketches of contemporary persons and scenes by Bishop Bruté (for he was an artist of some merit) enhance the value of the volume.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis University

St. Louis, Mo.

*Mère Marie of the Ursulines: a Study in Adventure.* By Agnes Repplier. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Garden City, New York, 1930, pp. 314.

In 1639 there came to Quebec a little group of people; a noble lady, three Ursuline nuns, three nursing nuns and three Jesuit priests. They came "to carry the light of faith and the warmth of charity to the New World." Agnes Repplier in her *Mère Marie of the Ursulines* tells in a most interesting way of the experiences of these pioneers, coming from the comforts of the Old World to face the privations and perils of the New World

where "Nature's primeval cruelty was a fit setting for the cruelty of her savage sons."

Introductory to the story of Marie de l'Incarnation, foundress of the Ursuline convent in Quebec, which today covers seven acres of ground, the author gives a brief sketch of the lives of Saint Ursula and Saint Angela de Merici, and of the founding of the Ursuline order, of which Mère Marie was to be so distinguished a member.

Marie Guyard when a young girl wished to enter a convent but her parents willed otherwise. She was married, widowed at nineteen, became an efficient business woman and reared a son to the age of twelve, when she put him in school. Then at last, she was free to follow her inclination, and in 1631, with her son's consent, she entered the Ursuline convent in Tours. "The goal, so long desired, was won at last. Behind her the past lay like a troubled dream. Before her the future, wilder than any dream, was veiled in comforting obscurity."

While Marie Guyard was working and waiting for the fulfillment of her plans, over in the New World, the scene of her future career, Quebec, was just coming into being. Samuel de Champlain had made explorations, discovered Lake Champlain, and founded Quebec. On his death in 1635 "he left to France a colony, small and weak, but steadfast in purpose and of unshaken loyalty." When Père Le Jeune, superior of Jesuit missions in New France, appealed to the mother country for money and teachers in order to establish a school for French and Indian girls in Quebec, his plea was answered by Madame Marie Madeleine de Chauvigny de la Peltrie. She furnished funds, selected nuns and herself accompanied them to Quebec, where she devoted the rest of her life to helping the Ursulines in their tasks, proving a most congenial friend to Mère Marie for thirty-two years.

On arrival of the nuns at Quebec, one of their first duties was to learn some of the Indian languages. Mère Marie became in time so proficient that she wrote catechisms in Huron, Algonquin, and Iroquois, a collection of prayers in Algonquin, and a primitive dictionary in Iroquois. This was only a part of her literary labors. Funds were necessary for the upkeep of the school; and her letters to various persons and institutions in France roused interest in her project and elicited the needed financial support. Her correspondence with her son, Dom Claude

Martin, who had become a Benedictine monk, is of historical value. It is stated that her letters were continually quoted by Abbé Faillon in his uncompleted *Histoire de la Colonie Française*. The following are a few of the many momentous events she described: the founding of Montreal by Maisonneuve in 1641, the death of Richelieu in 1642, the terrible Indian wars and the martyrdom of the Jesuits and other priests, the social and economic development of habitant life and of the city of Quebec, the struggle between Church and State, and, in the Church, between representatives of the Gallican and Ultramontane spirits, the expedition of La Salle in 1670, and in 1673, the mission of Louis Joliet and Père Marquette to "put the Mississippi on the map of North America."

Not only are great events described by Mère Marie, but great personages as well. Talon, Argenson, Frontenac, Courcelles, and the great Bishop Laval appear frequently in her pages.

Miss Replier has devoted one chapter of her book to François Xavier de Laval Montmorency, first bishop of New France. Mère Marie was naturally interested both in his educational projects and in his efforts to prevent the sale of brandy to the Indians. She knew only too well the disastrous effects of "fire-water" on the Indian nature.

Tribute is paid to the work of the Jesuits in the building of New France. As teachers of Christian doctrine to the Indians, they suffered great hardships and often martyrdom. They performed a great service as ambassadors. Miss Replier quotes Mr. William Bennett Munro as follows: "Every mission post became an embassy, and every Jesuit an ambassador of his race, striving to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the people to whom he went and the people from whom he came. As interpreter in the conduct of negotiations, and in the making of treaties, the missionary was invaluable."

Mère Marie continued her labors until her seventy-first year when her health broke and her death followed in a few months. On the 250th anniversary of her death, in April, 1922, Pope Pius XI declared her "venerable." Her contemporary, Bishop Laval, has also been pronounced "venerable," and the Jesuit martyrs whom she knew and sorrowed for were canonized in 1930.

Both Bishop Laval and Mère Marie have temporal monuments in the city of Quebec, Laval University and the Ursuline convent,

respectively. The spot where the shack stood which sheltered Mère Marie and her companions on her arrival in Quebec in 1639, is marked by a commemorative tablet.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oak Park, Illinois

*Historical Records and Studies.* Edited by Thomas F. Meehan, Vol. XX, New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1931, pp. 196.

This latest issue of *Historical Records and Studies*, the serial publication of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York, is one of unusual interest and importance. For many years the editing of this publication has been in the competent hands of Thomas F. Mehhan, who has to his credit a long record of distinguished service in the field of Catholic history in the United States. It is gratifying to be able to record that his services in this regard have not gone without recognition in high quarters, the Holy See having recently conferred on him membership in the Order of the Knights of Saint Gregory. The present volume contains seven papers: Joseph F. Thorning, S. J., "American Notes in Vatican Diplomacy"; H. C. Watts, "Conewago, Our First Shrine of the Sacred Heart"; Sister M. Eulalia Theresa Moffat, "Charles Constantine Pise (1801-1866)"; Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, "Education in the City of Mexico during the Sixteenth Century"; Margaret B. Downing, "George-Town-on-the-Potowmack"; Rev. Thomas P. Phelan, "Sargent Andrew Wallace." Father Thorning's article reproduces some of the highly interesting correspondence occasioned by the closing in 1867 of the American legation in Rome. All in all diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States had been distinctly cordial and the legation passed into history leaving behind it a record of service that fully justified the institution. "As citizens of the United States and as Catholics we may admire the courtesy, good feeling and mutual respect which marked every communication which passed between Washington and Rome." The remarkable paper by Icazbalceta, the well-known Mexican historian, is a translation from the Spanish of a study published by the Mexican Government in 1893. It is a critical, thoroughgoing and finely documented exposition of a most interesting phase of the social history of sixteenth century Mexico. The translation is due to Walter J. O'Donnell, C. S. C.,

Ph. D. Together with such papers as those on the Mexico City guilds and on Cortez's famous hospital in the same city appearing in the present issue of *MID-AMERICA*, Icazbalceta's paper affords new confirmatory evidence of the epochal contribution made by Spain to the cultural and economic history of the New World.

*Our Pioneer Historical Societies.* By Evarts B. Greene. (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 83-87.)

This is an address by Evarts Boutell Greene, president (1930) of the American Historical Society, delivered before the Twelfth Indiana History Conference at Indianapolis, December 12, 1930, in tribute to the centennial of the Indiana Historical Society. It is a pleasantly written and highly informing account of the process by which the early historical societies of the United States came into being. Dr. Greene, who is a member of the history-staff of Columbia University and author of outstanding texts in American history, is perfectly at home in his subject, with the result that the present address will well repay perusal. The Indiana Historical Society, which has been particularly active under its present director, Dr. Coleman, is to be congratulated on its venerable and distinguished past. "That an institution of this kind," says Dr. Greene, "should have been set up in Indianapolis in December, 1830, is in itself a remarkable circumstance. The idea of forming a society for the study of history does not ordinarily come to the members of a frontier community. That is usually the work of a people whose pioneer experiences have already receded well into the past and can only be brought back to consciousness through the laborious efforts of scholars and antiquarians."

*Vicksburg and Warren County, Mississippi: Tunica Indians: Quebec Missionaries: Civil War Veterans.* Designed and compiled by M. J. Mulvihill, Sr., 1931. Published by authority of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Vicksburg and the Board of Supervisors of Warren County, Mississippi.

This interesting brochure of eighty pages is taken up with various episodes of Mississippi history both in the colonial and Civil War periods. The missionary labors of the Quebec Sem-

inary priests among the Mississippi tribes at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries receive particular attention, pertinent data on the subject being drawn from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, various bulletins of the Bureau of Ethnology, and the works of Shea, Martin, Dilhet, Dunbar, and other historians. The story of old Fort St. Peter in the present Warren County, Mississippi, is told in the following inscription, a photographic reproduction of which appears on page two:

FORT ST. PETER

THE FIRST WHITE MEN TO VISIT THE YAZOO RIVER WERE FOUR MISSIONARY PRIESTS FROM THE SEMINARY OF QUEBEC. REV. FRANCIS DE MONTIGNY, A NATIVE OF PARIS, WAS THE LEADER OF THE PARTY AND BORE THE APPOINTMENT OF VICAR GENERAL OF THE BISHOP OF QUEBEC. THE OTHER PRIESTS WHERE REV. ANTHONY DAVION, REV. THAUMUR DE LA SOURCE AND REV. JOHN FRANCIS BUISSON DE ST. COSME. THEIR PURPOSES WERE TO CIVILIZE AND MAKE KNOWN TO THE INDIANS THAT THERE WAS AN ALMIGHTY GOD, WHO LOVED ALL MANKIND AND WOULD REWARD WITH EVERLASTING HAPPINESS ALL WHO WOULD LEARN TO LOVE AND SERVE HIM AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS. THEY ARRIVED AT THIS SITE JANUARY 11, 1698 [1699], AND WERE CONDUCTED INLAND FROM THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER BY INDIANS OF THE TUNICA TRIBE TO THE VILLAGE OF THE CHIEF. THEY ESTIMATED THE POPULATION AT 2000 WHICH INCLUDED THE YAZOO AND OFO TRIBES. THE VISIT LASTED EIGHT DAYS AND SICKNESS BEING AMONG THEM THEY BAPTIZED SEVERAL DYING CHILDREN AND A DISTINGUISHED CHIEF. THEY VISITED OTHER TRIBES AND RETURNED TO CANADA FOR ALL NECESSARIES TO MAKE PERMANENT THE PLACES SELECTED FOR MISSIONS. THE MISSIONARIES WERE BACK IN JAN., 1699. THEIR STUDY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES WAS SO EXTENSIVE AND THOROUGH AS TO HAVE JOHN P. SWANTON OF THE U.S. BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY, IN 1911, STATE, IN BULLETIN 43: "IT IS EVIDENT THAT OF ALL MEN DE MONTIGNY AND ST. COSME, ESPECIALLY THE LATTER, WERE BEST FITTED TO PASS UPON THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NATCHEZ TO THE LANGUAGE OF ITS NEIGHBORS." AND IN REFERRING TO THE LANGUAGES OF TEN OTHER TRIBES HE STATED THAT IN THE LIGHT OF ALL OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE NOT A SINGLE MISTAKE WAS MADE BY THEM. LARGE GRANTS OF LAND WERE MADE TO M. LE BLANC, FRENCH MINISTER OF STATE AND HIS ASSOCIATES. IN 1719 FORT ST. PETER WAS CONSTRUCTED AND "ADDITIONS WERE MADE ANNUALLY TO ALL THE SETTLEMENTS UNTIL THERE WERE TWO FARMS ON WALNUT HILLS AND FOURTEEN ON THE YAZOO AROUND FORT ST. PETER THAT BECAME THE ENVY OF THE BRITISH AND

PRIDE OF THE FRENCH IN 1721." DECEMBER 31, 1729, THE YAZOO INDIANS MASSACRED REV. JOHN SOUEL, S. J.; CHEVALIER DES ROCHES, COMMANDANT, AND ALL THE POPULATION EXCEPT 4 WOMEN AND 5 CHILDREN.

M. J. MULVIHILL, SR., HISTORIAN

Unfortunately the inscription contains some inaccuracies. The Quebec missionaries arrived in the Lower Mississippi in the January of 1698, not 1699. Moreover, they did not return to Canada, as stated, but, leaving Davion behind them, moved up the river to found at Cahokia what is now the oldest permanent settlement in the state of Illinois. De La Source was a deacon, not a priest.

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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